

THE SOVIETS AND OURSELVES

LANDSMEN AND SEAFARERS

EDITOR Professor John Macmurray

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LANDSMEN AND SEAFARERS

BY MAURICE LOVELL

*WITH 14 ISOTYPE CHARTS IN
COLOUR AND 32 PHOTOGRAPHS*



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P R I N T E D I N G R E A T B R I T A I N

PREFACE

This book, and the two similar volumes which will follow it in the same series, set out to compare and contrast two great Commonwealths, the Soviet Union and the British Empire. The purpose of the series is to explain the one to the other, and by doing so, to promote understanding and prevent misunderstanding. There is no longer any need to persuade anyone that this is important. It is now a matter of common agreement that the future peace and prosperity of the world depends on their co-operation in peace when their comradeship in arms has been brought to a happy ending. Both their Governments and their peoples desire to co-operate and intend to co-operate. They have signed a twenty-years agreement to do so. But successful co-operation will depend on mutual respect, which is impossible without mutual understanding. It is not enough that their Governments should agree: the common people of the two Commonwealths must understand and sympathize. For both are deeply democratic, though they have come to democracy along different paths and express their democracy in contrasting fashions.

To understand is to recognize unity in difference. To understand the Soviet Union we have to know the significant differences between us and between our ways of life. But also we have to see that these differences are the expression, under different conditions, of something even more important that we have in common. Now, there are at least two very significant things which the Russian people and the British people have in common. They are a warm human sympathy for the oppressed and the unfortunate, and a passionate love of freedom. The first is shown by the immense popularity of Dickens in the Soviet Union. We laugh and weep at the same things, even if the Russians laugh and weep more forcefully than we do. The Russian love of freedom breathes through the whole of Russian literature, just as ours does through our own.

Yet we tend to think that the Soviet people do not understand freedom, while they tend to think the same of us. Here is one misunderstanding which can be removed by knowing the difference in the conditions of life with which the two peoples have been faced throughout their history. Russian history, like English history, is a story of struggle against arbitrary authority. But in England success came early, and developed by slow degrees. In Russia success was delayed until yesterday, and came like the bursting of a dam. In England the struggle centred in the control of taxation through the development of representative political institutions; in Russia it had a different centre—the ownership of the land and its products. The school of democracy in Russia was an economic school, the communal management of village land. When the dream of freedom was realized, therefore, it took the form of economic democracy, the communal ownership and management of the whole land by the whole people. So while our political democracy is feeling its way towards the principles of economic democracy, Russia is training itself in the use of the principles of political democracy. To such a resolution of differences and misunderstandings this book can contribute not a little. Succeeding volumes will deal with the public and the private life of the two countries. In the present volume, the author—Mr Maurice Lovell—sets the stage for this. He is concerned with the similarities and the differences in the problems that nature and history have combined to set for the two great groups of peoples.

Of the many contrasts he has chosen for special emphasis the one to which the Prime Minister drew attention on a famous occasion. They are land-animals ; we are sea-animals. Their lines of communication lie along the surface of the earth ; ours over the surface of the oceans. This primary difference has important consequences, which Mr Lovell helps us to realize. Within this frame he gives us a picture of the natural resources of the vast country, of the peoples which it contains, and of the ways they have invented to overcome their difficulties and to utilize their resources for the development of a great civilization.

Mr Lovell is well fitted for this difficult task. He is an experienced journalist, and a master of revealing incident and telling phrase. For twelve years he was a Reuters correspondent in London and in Europe. From the Munich days he travelled from Central Europe through the Balkans to Greece, following the storm-centre of the crisis which led up to and into the war. Five months before Hitler invaded Russia he went to Moscow, and he was in the Soviet Union through the desperate days of German pride and conquest until the autumn of 1942. He travelled widely in that country, talking with the people in their own language, studying their problems and learning to understand their ways and their thoughts. He has put his first-hand experience, as well as his knowledge of things Russian, into this book ; and he has done the job well.

A word is desirable about the diagrams. These are an essential part of the book, and should not be regarded merely as illustrations. They have been designed by the Isotype Institute in consultation with the author and the editor. They supplement the letterpress by saying through the eye something that cannot be expressed, or something that cannot be so well expressed, in words. Each diagram has one important point to make, which should be obvious at first glance ; but the reader who will make the slight effort to learn the simple language of visual symbolism which they use will find that they repay careful and repeated scrutiny. The photographs also have their function to fulfil. They are illustrations, but something more than ordinary illustrations. They are studies in contrast and comparison, to be thought over as well as looked at.

JOHN MACMURRAY

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“The trouble with the Russians is . . .”

The man whom I overheard behind me in the 'bus said, “The trouble with the Russians is that they don't understand . . .” I forget the rest of the sentence. What I remember is that he was trying to say what Mr Churchill has already said—“It is difficult to make the Russians comprehend all the problems of the sea and of the ocean. We are sea animals, and the United States are to a large extent ocean animals. The Russians are land animals. Happily, we are all three air animals.”

Mr Churchill's is not an image which explains everything about the Russians or about ourselves. However, in referring to the distinction between the peoples of the Soviets and ourselves as “land” and “sea” animals, I am not putting forward this large but single aspect as a convenient and complete explanation either of these peoples or ourselves. Nor should the main theme of this book be taken to suggest that the Russian Admirals Ushakov and Nakhimov were not great seamen—or that Clive and the Duke of Wellington were not captains of the greatest skill. But there are many facets to any major truth, and these are usually worth consideration by the expert as well as by those to whom the subject is new. This image of “Land Animals” and “Sea Animals” prompts questions. And nowadays more than ever we need to ask ourselves questions. We have lived so much in these war years within the vibrations of the nearest bomb, within the boom of the nearest gun, that we have not found time to stand outside events and think of what is really happening. We need to ask ourselves, “Who are ‘the Russians’?” and also, “Who are we?” This is not an academic question, but a matter of simple necessity. The writer of an editorial article in the Moscow periodical *War and the Working Class* saw this same necessity at the time of the Moscow Conference, but he asked the questions in a broader, more general fashion. He said :

Does political realism permit, for instance, the elaboration of schemes which leave out the U.S.A., the greatest industrial world Power with its tremendous production system which turns out huge masses of industrial and agricultural products, with its high technique and powerful military potential, its wide interests in the task of strengthening economic bonds with other nations of the world?

Is it possible to plan the future of the world while disregarding the British Empire, which possesses vast economic resources and man-power reserves, which is a great sea Power, with territory scattered over the whole globe, and interests which demand political stability in international relations?

Can one think of a future world in which the peoples are secure without the active participation of the Soviet Union, which occupies a sixth of the world, which is the most powerful land Power and the staunchest supporter of the policy of peace among the peoples, and which is now the most stable political factor in Europe?

No, the alliance of these Powers, which lead the anti-Hitlerite coalition, is naturally called upon to become the nucleus around which all peoples of the world who desire reliable peace and security will rally.

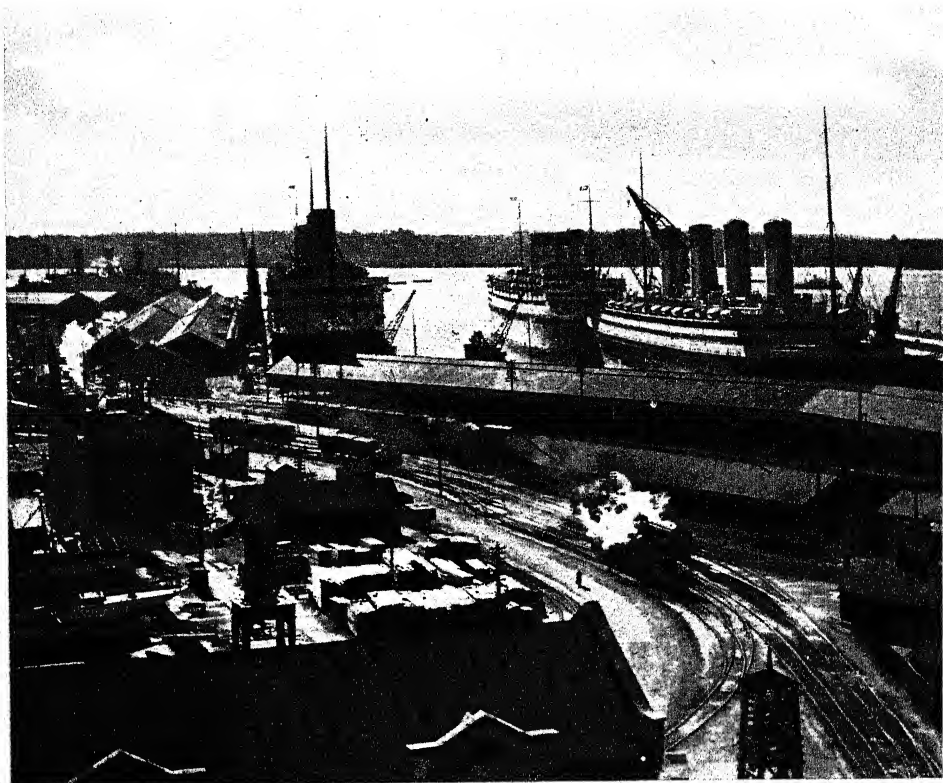
That is how he, thinking in world terms, saw a great framework. If we ask ourselves the narrower question, “Who are the land animals, who the sea animals?” the answer is something as follows :

‘The Russians,’ as we warmly and conveniently call more than sixty different



Girls cleared Leningrad's tram-lines of snow during the siege. But normally the street-cleaning services of every Soviet city do this many times every winter.

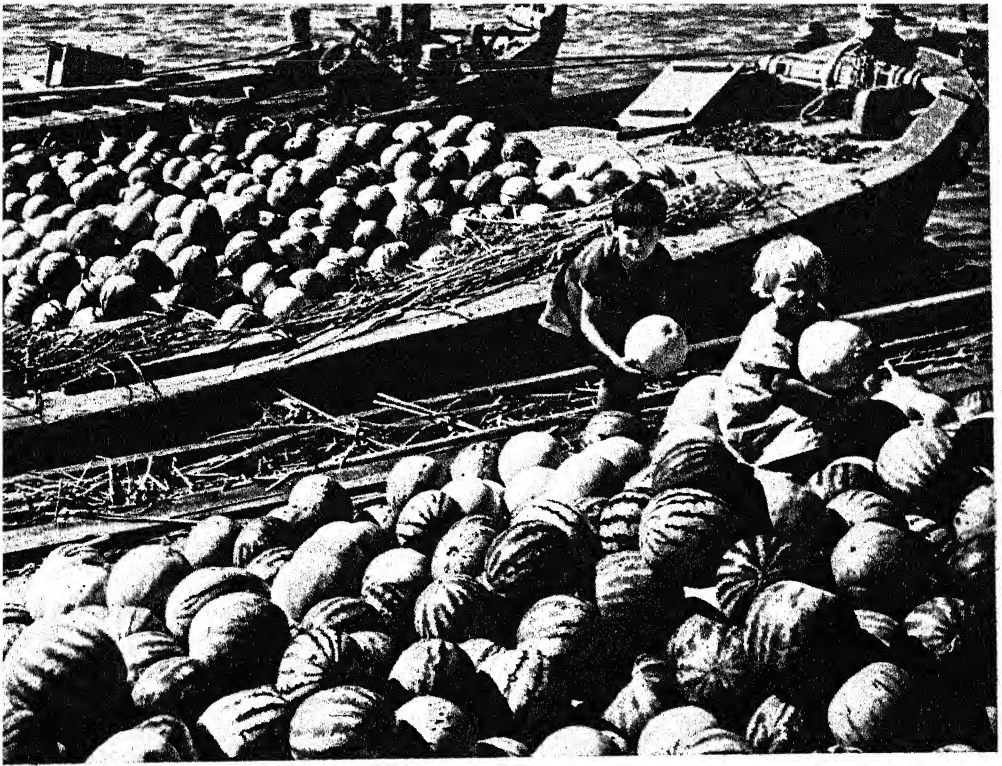
nationalities, are a group of land peoples living in one block on the world's surface. They stretch from the beech woods and the marshes of the eastern part of the central European plain to the grim, dark islands of the Bering Straits. Only one part of their territory other than a few islands in the Arctic Ocean is separate from this great mass—the northern half of Sakhalin Island, the southern half of which is held by Japan. And we, as we have had so much cause to know recently, are mainly a number of sea peoples, thriving here and there along the coasts of the earth. There is not a single continent on the coast of which we have not some unit of our Commonwealth or some power-base helping to guard the links between our peoples. The "land animals" are very human people, compounded of hopes and fears. They are essentially not bronze statues, as some propagandists have tried to represent them.



An English winter sun glimmers, in intervals between the clouds, on Southampton docks. A fresh breeze lifts the ships' pennants, and rain will follow.

But it is useful first of all in a realistic way to consider their country and themselves in general. Whereas our various territories total nearly one-fourth of the earth, the Soviet Union's single bulk is about a sixth. It is still more important to say that it forms nearly a third of the *Weltinsel* (world-island), as the Germans call the main land mass of the world, consisting of Europe, Asia and Africa. The Russians have achieved their control over their huge territory by progress in the past from river to river, always finally meeting the sea and always in the past this has been the obstacle at which they stopped.

Both of us can claim in the face of the centuries that we are great peoples. The histories of the British and of the Russians are essentially sagas; together they would fill most of the pages of the recorded struggles of man. Of the Russians it



Melons of all types and sizes grow on the southern Russian plains. A warm sun shines on these Volga lighters laden with the fruit.

can be said that all they have achieved has been won with great difficulty, at a price. Their gains have been carved from history, wrested from an unwilling Nature. The Russians have proceeded from the little Dukedom of Muscovy in the centre of European Russia, and battled their way eastward and southward, sometimes against human enemies, but chiefly against extremes of climate, overcoming the lack of roads, the freezing of rivers, spreading through mud and dust, through swamps and deserts. Until fairly recent times it was a matter of two years' journey from Moscow to the Pacific, and a Tsar might expect an answer to his missives to the Court of Peking only in four or five years. We from our base in the British Isles, washed by mild rain and visited by a polite and reserved sun, and with an underlying sense of the security of our home, have crossed all the seas, making of them spaces which join, rather than wastes which separate. Buoys mark our wrecks on every coast. The cost of our wanderings is told in the skeletons of many thousands of our seamen, but many safe havens and fine harbours have been found, around which new states could rise and grow into equal parts of our Commonwealth.

However, there is absolutely no use in saying to ourselves, "The Russians are different," if we have not even troubled to grasp a few of the major facts, and then gone



Within the British Commonwealth there are all ranges of climate. In Southern Queensland sun beats on the spikes and ripening fruit of a pineapple farm.

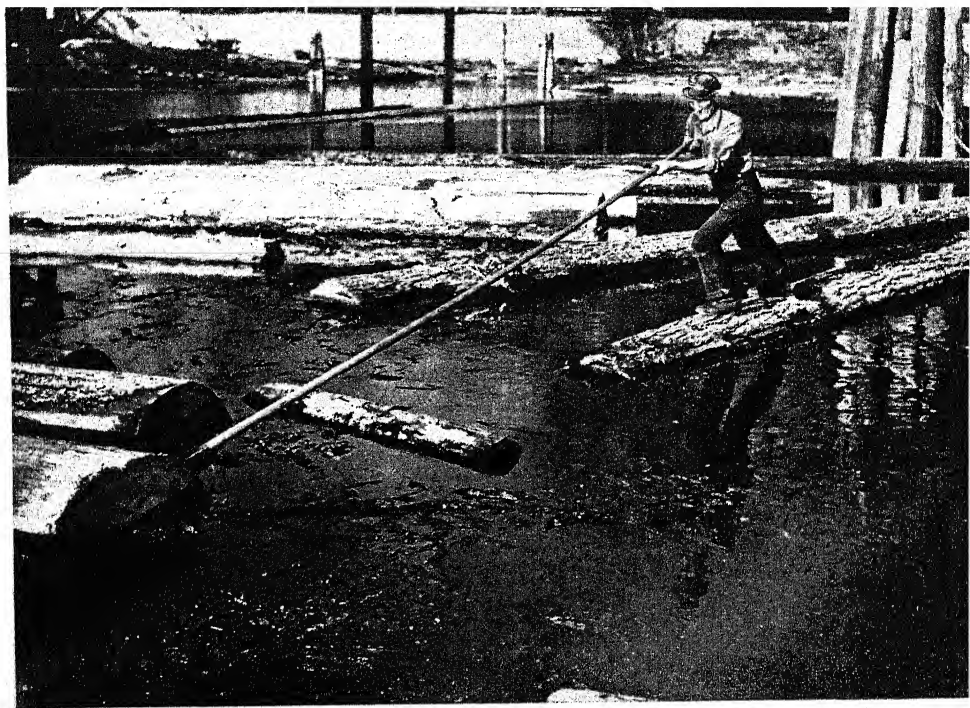
on to find out how and why. We have to examine our world again in terms of its realities, its distances, its regions which are capable of supporting their populations by their own crops, its populations which are increasing, and those which are falling. We cannot afford to live in a world in which we believe that the Russians are a people who always take their baths in steam-houses, after which they go out and roll in the snow. Fiction such as this may be suited to the expansive security of 1860, but it has little relationship to the new blocks of flats in Tashkent, in the centre of Asia. Among the major facts concerning the Soviet Union and ourselves, one is clear. Both of us are groups of peoples, but both our Commonwealths are, historically speaking, headed by 'senior partners,' the British and the Great Russians. The latter are a people who have held firm to a core of territory over many centuries, who have been hardened by its climate, tempered by many an invasion, enriched by many an additional strain of blood. The Great Russians are tough and like to regard themselves as tough. I remember talking with a stocky fifty-year-old Professor of History in Kuibyshev during the winter of 1941-42. He had the short, virile, tufty hair of many an intelligent Jew, but was Great Russian by training, and wore riding breeches. "No other race can suffer like ourselves and yet survive," he said. "And how we have



The Soviet Union has more timber than any other country. From the great Siberian pine forests it is floated north to the Arctic Ocean and thence to the outer world.

suffered." Unless the average Englishman makes a real effort in understanding, it is not easy for him to perceive exactly in what this toughening process of the centuries has consisted. And yet it is fundamental to our seeing eye to eye with the Russians on almost all the events of life.

Having been invited once to speak in a church hall after my return from Russia, I was asked by an Anglican priest, "How would you compare the slums of Russia and those of Great Britain?" I answered in the only way that seemed to me practical, short of a two-hour discourse. "Sir," I said, "have you honestly and seriously, before asking this question, given thought to the problems of laying pipe-systems for water supply and sewage in a land of which the top soil is frozen or deep in slush for five months of every year? That gives seven-twelfths of the year in which work is practicable. I am sure you will agree, Sir, that this fact bears on your question." For an Englishman sitting writing beside a single-sheeted window in a faint but pleasant winter sun, with the streets clean and entirely free of snow, it is not easy to realize in a practical manner what living the year round in European Russia actually means. First of all, it means that from mid-November until mid-March one is never entirely out of the sight of snow. Walking across it in an open field, you may sink in it up to the middle, but if it has been pressed into a path by people passing continually



Timber is not floated in large rafts on the swift watercourses of British Columbia. But the wood reaches the world's markets more quickly than that of Siberia.

to and fro over the fresh falls of snow, it lies hard and yet still powdery, and will support a considerable weight. On the streets it is pressed by the traffic into a sheet of ice, in which there are deep ruts from which the driver cannot suddenly depart without risk of damage to his hubs. It blocks the points of the tramways, which have to be constantly cleared. After a heavy fall of snow it is quite common to see a group of Soviet people doing a *voskresnik* (a voluntary day's labour) clearing the tram-lines while the inhabitants of the town have to go about their lawful occasions on foot. Throughout the countryside there are many thousands of railway points. The task of keeping these free throughout the winter is an essential part of the work of the railwaymen.

All houses have double windows to withstand the cold, which normally is of an average of nearly 20° Fahr. of frost throughout the winter, but which also descends for short periods to temperatures of more than 40° Fahr. below zero. The air is usually dry, and if one is warmly clad in the average winter temperature there is little inconvenience and even a feeling of exhilaration. When the temperature has fallen to 40° below zero the heart feels the constant strain of keeping the extremities of the body warm, and the oxygen in the air seems dull and unsatisfying. Any tight binding about the hands or the feet, or any pressure from hard leather, rapidly causes a



The crops of Russia's own surplus-producing areas are vital to her. A travelling newspaper, with office and press on a lorry, brings the day's news to Ukrainian harvesters.

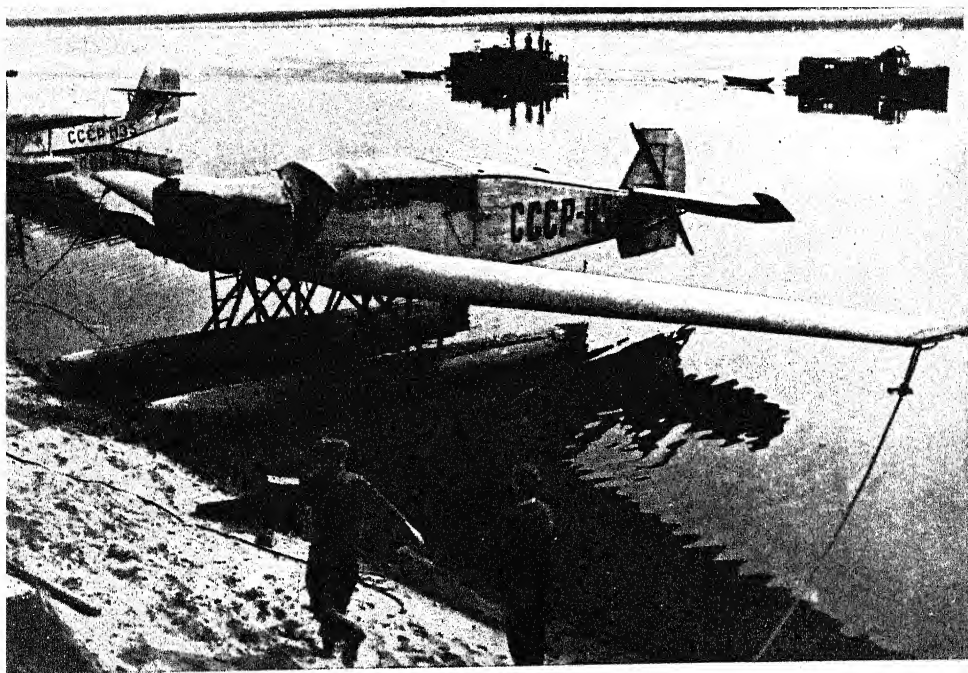
decrease in the circulation of the blood and intense pain. For this reason it has been the tradition of the Russians to wear soft linen bandages about their feet, and soft leather high boots or pressed felt boots (*Valinki*), which maintain within their tissues a constant belt of warm, motionless air. If there are only 20° of frost but a high wind is blowing, it is, of course, more disagreeable than still air at 40° below zero. Inside unheated buildings—as a great many in Moscow were in 1941-42—the temperature of the still air falls to some 10° of frost, with an inescapable deadening effect so that, for example, one's fingers will go completely numb in twenty minutes' work upon a typewriter. Contact with metal in the much lower temperatures of the open air is still less pleasant. Red Army men who have to service their tanks cannot work upon them with their hands for more than a few minutes at a time without the certainty of frost-bite. The same tanks, despite their anti-freezing lubrication, etc., have to be taken out from their park every once in a while so that the tracks shall not become frozen over with ice. Farther east, in the excessive temperatures of Siberia, metal actually deteriorates under the strain of the frost.

Another practical difficulty for the Russians is that of erecting buildings in concrete, cement, and plaster, which will be capable of withstanding for many years these winter temperatures, to be followed in the summer by shade temperatures reaching around 100° Fahr.



Trade in commodities such as wool and meat over the great distances of the Commonwealth is vital to Britain. Dust rises above the clustering sheep at an Australian sale.

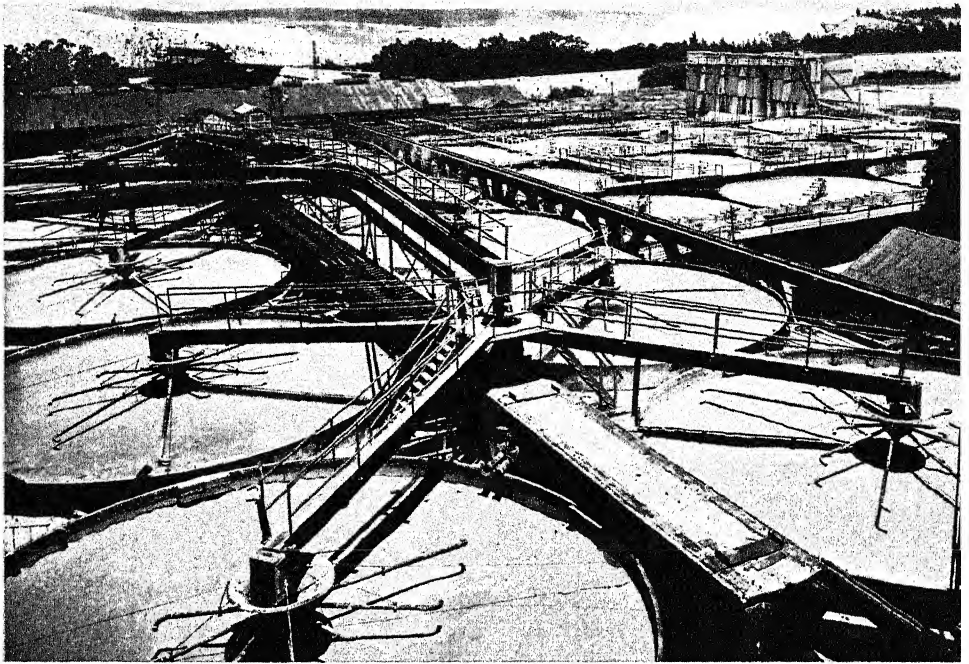
Throughout this winter period the rivers are frozen. This means that, in a country where there is a vast amount of river navigation with a monthly goods traffic of some millions of tons, that proportion of the traffic which must be maintained even in winter becomes an additional burden upon the railways, upon the lorries of an only recently motorized country, and upon the slow-going horse-drawn sleighs. Fortunately, by compensation, it is easier for a horse to draw a sleigh than a wheeled vehicle, and the tempers of the drivers are not improved when the beasts jib in the spring thaw at the sudden labour of drawing wheeled carts again over roads deep in mire. The spring comes. There is a quick, savage spurting of the sap into the branches of all the trees, the bushes, and the flowers. Within a few days from south to north there is a burgeoning of green. The chestnuts of Kiev spread their great leaves, fronds spring on the birches of Moscow, and in a while a green sheen comes over the vast black pine forests. Birds, whose existence had been forgotten, share their noise with that of the ploughs and the seeders and the harrows being cleaned and repaired for the rush of the spring sowing. The winter may come sooner or later, and the variability of its onset is a problem which automatically costs the farming folk and the Government many hundreds of thousands of pounds. The spring may also come sooner or later, but it is always in the same madcap fashion. The streets, which a fortnight ago were drab with dark padded figures in many layers of clothing



Much of Russia's gold lies in the sands of the Vitim river, tributary of the Lena, some 3000 miles east of Moscow. Planes carry the dredged gold to collecting bases.

and furs, well-worn and often soiled, now trip with the step of girls in their summer shoes, their gay print dresses, and their somewhat severely cut but smart Easter coats. The last little mounds of dirty snow die miserably in the gutters. The ice in the larger rivers breaks up with a noise as of cannon-shot, and moves in gliding, tumbled masses towards the sea, bearing its own chill, dark atmosphere along above itself. Where the rivers flow northward, the ice is pushed out by that already released from the upper reaches ; where the rivers flow southward, the waters of the lower stream, already in spate, pull the ice out of the narrow arms. It is an annual sight ; crowds, each year delighted, gather to watch the break-up.

Chill showers of April and May give way to bursts of tonic sunshine. The wind begins to lift the dust on the outskirts of the towns. By mid-June the crops sown in the autumn and in the spring rush are lifting to a hot sun, and the processions of peasants' carts on the steppe pass along the tracks inside their own dust haze. The summer does not last very long, and before it comes there has been an interminable period with very little actinic light. The sun's rays are as important as dietetic vitamins to the Russians ; and it was probably by a sound instinct that the casual peasant labourers of pre-Soviet days used to lie in the fields absorbing the sun while waiting for the next crop to harvest. Nowadays, in peace-time, the people are



Ore from the great Transvaal gold reef makes South Africa an even larger gold-producer than the Soviet Union. The cyanide tanks of a typical Rand mine.

encouraged to swim, to play games, to take holiday cruises on the great rivers, to rest in the perfumed sunlight of the Black Sea coast.

In Southern European Russia in full summer the sun rapidly scorches the steppe. And the Ukrainian moon ("*Nasha Lund*") glows twice its normal size through the dust and heat haze of the preceding day. Farther east, in Central Asia, the summer temperature rises to heights where the wise inhabitant takes refuge in his mud-brick or adobe house from the noon-day sun, and it is only with the greatest difficulty that it has been possible to grow a few stunted trees and a tiny park in Krasnovodsk on the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea.

This, then, is the alternation of warmth and frost within which the Russians live. The question, "Who are the Great Russians?" can be answered most simply by saying that they are a people who have survived in Central European Russia, who have mastered the climate and its consequent problems of feeding, and who have overcome invaders from east, west, and south. The Great Russians are to some extent a mixture, and on their fringes, inside European Russia, live the White Russians, the Ukrainians (or Little Russians, as they were called by the people of Muscovy), and in the east the various relicts of the Tartar and other invaders out of Central Asia. There are Viking and Baltic blood, Polish, Finnish and other blood among the Great

Russians, as there are Celtic, Viking, and Norman strains mingled in our Anglo-Saxon stock. The origin of the Slavs is uncertain but interesting. They came into recorded history as marsh and river folk and small husbandmen, gradually moving from Southern into Central Russia. The fable regarding them, brought back to the Byzantine Emperor, Mauritius, was of primitive, elusive but doughty warriors, who hid among reeds and below the surface of ponds, from which they rose suddenly in ambush to hurl arrows upon an unwary invader.

Early travellers in general refer to the Slavs as peaceful landmen, hospitable to visitors, inured to a hard life and perpetually suffering invasion. The Slavs came into history at the time of the great migrations, subjugated by Germanic tribes and staving off the westward incursions of nomadic barbarians out of East Central Asia, while the banks of their great rivers were raided, and their villages sacked by the Vikings about the same time that our King Alfred the Great was patiently building up a little fleet. In the vast reed-covered marshes of the Danube Delta and its fringes, to this day live little pockets of Slavs who, over many ages, for safety or for the preservation of their religious idiosyncrasies, have fled into that region of silent little river channels and returned to an ancient way of life.

The Great Russians, with all their assimilated blood and their fringe populations, are not only a group but also individual human beings living on a great plain as far as the Urals and the Caucasus. For them 600 feet is quite a hill. A mountain is a wonder, and the Urals and the Caucasus are almost creatures for whom they have a warm affection. This is the awe with which Lermontov, the great Russian Romantic author of the early nineteenth century, writes when describing a scene in the mountains of the Caucasus. He says: "All around was still, so still that by the whine of a gnat you could follow its flight." On the plain, which is so vast that from inside it you could not suspect the possible existence anywhere in the world of the folded landscape and little hedged fields of a Devon or a Cornwall, a sense of 'community' in its inhabitants is the key to their endurance. It is little wonder that the sense of community has been emphasized in their Orthodox form of Christianity. Again and again across the centuries it has been stressed by their theologians that, for them, the Church is not an ecclesiastical structure, but the "company of all faithful people."

Exposed on the great plain, the Russians need an anchorage, not only in their village, but also in the greater life of their country. Hence, for them, the vital importance of towns, the defence of which is the key to their history. The desperate will to hold Stalingrad was born and nurtured centuries earlier behind the palisades of other towns, against other enemies. The English sixteenth-century chronicler, Richard Hakluyt, quoted the following point from a description of Russia by Mr Giles Fletcher, Doctor of Law, who was sent as ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor Theodore of Russia in 1588:

The Russe souldier is thought to be better at his defence within some castle or towne, then he is abroad at a set pitched field. Which is ever noted in the practise of his warres, and namely at the siege of Vobsko, about eight yeres since: where he repulsed the Polonian king Stepan Batore, with his whole armie of 100,000 men, and forced him in the end to give over his siege, with the losse of many of his best Captaines and souldiers.

This was an early parallel of the fate of Field-Marshal von Paulus and the German Sixth Army. Fletcher added :

If any behave himself more valiantly than the rest, or do any special piece of service, the Emperor sendeth him a piece of golde, stamped with the Image of Saint George on horsebacke. Which they hang on their sleeves, and set in their caps. And this is accounted the greatest honour they can receive, for any service they doe.

It is also partly from this necessity of individuals to hang together on the great plain, and to have a sure centre, that arises the 'holiness' of the Moscow Kremlin—the core-village, the centre of the plain. The great advance in history which has been made in our age is that now the Supreme Soviet sits there in its own hall in the Kremlin, representing the peoples of the whole Soviet Union with its variety and colour. The truth residing in the community (*Sobornost*) has entered into the Kremlin, and is no longer represented there by one man, the Czar.

In considering how this has come about, it is probably necessary to remind ourselves how these men of Slav, Nordic, and Baltic origin first linked together the Duchies of Moscow, Novgorod, and Kiev, then gained all Russia ; how they spread south and east beyond the Urals, expanding in the most likely way for "land animals"—upon the line of least resistance, to the mountain borders of India and the sea barrier of the Pacific. The land-marks in their story are great land battles, with the possible exceptions of the sea-fights of Sinope off the Turkish coast in 1614, and Port Arthur off the Pacific coast in 1904. Added to this is the reflection in their character of the contrasts of their climate—the mysticism which appears in their religion through the ages, set against the intense realism of their politics.

To me it seemed that the little man who said behind me in the bus, "The trouble with the Russians is . . .," remembered little of this. I found myself wondering also whether he was aware of what we had gained by centuries of comparative safety, by having no major invasion in nearly nine hundred years ? Had he reflected on the effect on our character of centuries of a mild climate which brings some rain on nearly every other day. During the abnormal weather of 1940 and 1941, the greatest cold which occurred one night in the Welsh mountains was only 42 degrees of frost ; and this one can normally expect throughout a period of one or two weeks in the winter of Moscow. When the shade temperatures passed above 90 degrees Fahr. in June 1941 they were exceptional for Britain, but they would have meant just a hot day in a Russian summer.

The rain-bearing south-west winds of Britain have blown for centuries, and have never carried away the mildness and dampness of our valleys. But if there is a stirring in the Soviet Arctic, the resulting wind can sweep downward, dry and bitter, without interruption of any mountain range as far as Moscow and on southward over the Steppe. It is scarcely any wonder, then, that to the land animals, with the special conditioning of their climate, our slightly vague, intuitive ways of thinking should seem strange. Just as strange as it was for me when I stood beside a Soviet colonel in the corridor of a train and heard him say to me about a rain-washed October landscape in central Russia which would have been quite normal in England, "What a place. How glad I shall be to be back with my men in Siberia. By now it will be fifteen below there, and nice and clear. There you can fill your lungs !"

Months later I wondered whether this landsman in the heart of Asia had found it easy to understand us when our sixteen-inch guns thundered off Salerno, and enabled our men to get securely ashore in Europe. Floating artillery brought from 3000 miles away in the normal sea tradition of Britain had won the day against fortifications and Panzers. Behind the swift manœuvring of our battleships at Salerno lay hundreds of years of skill slowly mounting in British shipyards. This skill has been growing almost continuously from the time of Carausius, Governor of Britain (286-293 A.D.), under the Roman Emperor Diocletian. Finding himself in possession of naval control of the English Channel, Carausius was able to proclaim and maintain an independent power in Britain. When he added to himself the Governorship of North Gaul, and thus had both coasts of the Channel in his power, Rome had grimly to accept a temporary British independence.

The distribution of races which make up our population has since then become patchy—but owing to the climate, the smallness of the islands, and the relative ease of communications, the characteristics of our different races have tended to fuse. Our language on an Anglo-Saxon basis has Norse pronouns, some Celtic nouns, and a great deal of Latin syntax to go with the classical and abstract words brought by the Normans and the Renaissance. The island and its climate have always so far assimilated the newcomers.

Departing from a secure island outward, British expansion has been by way of the sea—to islands or coastal areas which could be maintained in the first place by our sea lines. Typical of the British method of exerting power was Nelson's feat of bottling the French fleet in Toulon over a period of two years, to the intense annoyance of Napoleon. Similarly in 1940-41 we had to carry out the Oran incident against the French fleet, enforce the naval blockade against Germany, and send land forces in ships 14,000 miles round Africa to Egypt. A Russian land parallel of the use of power at a distance might be the employment of divisions brought from Siberia to assist Moscow in the winter of 1941-42. These tall, long-boned men, so hardened that they will wash stripped to the waist in temperatures unknown to Britain, were brought over 2000 miles by train, passed through the capital, and were put into the front at the right moment, with telling effect.

Now the new element of the air enters into the living calculations of both the land animals and the sea animals. It is a unifying element for both our Commonwealths. Journeys which would have taken weeks inside the Soviet Union, and among the units of the Commonwealth, can now be made in two or three days. The mapping of the Arctic, and the maintenance there of meteorological stations by the Russians, could not have developed with such speed in the past fifteen years but for the existence of the aeroplane. Soviet experiments in pre-germination depend for their success on the flying of the seedlings to the Far North for planting during the short summer. Important mail for Vladivostock, which would have taken twelve days by rail can arrive by air in three. Mr Eden is able to fly to Moscow, attend a conference, and be back in London in ten days. The London-Melbourne air race was won a decade ago in less than three days, and now Canada sends us bombers in twelve hours. The tempo of history has been speeded so that events happen, as Ariel said, "Before you can say, 'come,' and 'go,' And breathe twice." We sea animals are becoming flying fishes, and the Russians birds.

“How big is the question?”

Sometimes one is asked, in a reasonable and practical manner: “About Russia and ourselves . . . how big is the question?”

I once said, “Well, it’s about the biggest question we and our children have to deal with.” Then I thought again and added, “It’s also quite a small question. You see, the world has become so small. Every bit of it is known. There can’t be any more surprises—any more Americas or Australias. And in the case of Russia and ourselves the facts are—the world-island of Europe, Asia, and Africa occupies nearly two-thirds of the world’s land surface. Out of this nearly one-half belongs to the Soviet Union and ourselves, and this excludes such other lands of the Commonwealth as Australia and Canada. It’s the same with skilled workers. If you take ours and the Soviet Union’s together, the figure compared with the rest of the world is about as high.”

It is impossible to ignore the large land of the “land animals.” Their territory is two-and-a-half times as large as the United States. It is nearly sixty times the area of the United Kingdom. There is a developing country, although its present population is less than 200 millions, compared with the 500 millions of the British Commonwealth, including India. Apart from other historical reasons their smaller population is the result of their smaller proportion of land which could easily bear food crops.

From the western border of the Soviet Union to the Pacific is a distance of nearly six thousand miles. From the Persian border to the tip of Russia’s great northern island, Novaya Zemlya, is nearly three thousand miles. European Russia is as large as the rest of Europe, and yet it is only a quarter of the Soviet Union. To the east, in Siberia and Central Asia, already live many millions of people, and with the aid of scientific agriculture these regions will house many more. Siberia is not, of course, the bleak waste of popular imagination. It has wide stretches of agricultural land, rolling pastures and immense virgin forests, in the huge belt between the deserts of South Central Asia and the bleak tundra of the North.

The frontiers of the Soviet Union are over 40,000 miles in length. Although two-thirds of this is coastline, and only one-third a land border, most of the coastline facing the Arctic Ocean is ice-bound for the greater part of the year. A vast majority of the people of the Soviet Union have never seen the sea, and can have no more a picture of what it looks like on a windy day than people in England can imagine a plain on which wallflowers grow in such stretches that you can smell them three days distant, a plain which can form a round horizon without the break of a tree. In European Russia, from Moscow to the nearest sea coast is 400 miles, or the distance from London to Glasgow. Perm, a university city in the Urals, lies 700 miles from the nearest sea, whereas in Great Britain you cannot be more than 75 miles from the sea, or in Western Europe 200 miles.

European Russia is one large plain with an average height of 500 feet. It is unbroken until you reach the Urals in the east, a barrier running north and south for 1500 miles. It can be roughly divided into northern, central, and southern regions according to climate. Towards the north the trees become gradually more stunted and sparse until finally they are defeated, and only moss survives against the rock. In the centre large forests break the winds, and the sandy soil and mixed loam takes in many places a good pasture. In the south (the Ukraine) the rainfall is less certain than in the

centre, but the soil is rich and black. The rivers, which until comparatively recent years were the main routes of travel, are all-important to this country. In the past the Dnieper, the Don, the Volga, and the Kama formed barriers against invaders. Legends grew up about them, about mysterious great fish in their broad depths, and about the pirates, sometimes of a Robin Hood character, who plied on them. Nowadays passenger and freight steamers chug along them hundreds of miles inland, adding in a modern way to their usefulness, their history, their human lore.

South of Russia and between the Black and Caspian Seas, the land rises after the rich Kuban Steppe, into the foothills, then to the peaks of the Caucasus range, which runs from north-west to south-east. On its northern and southern slopes, in its valleys, live many different nationalities, the relicts of numerous former, conquering races or of weaker pacific peoples who could survive in their mountain retreats. In this region there are three constituent republics of the Soviet Union, Armenia, somewhat larger than Wales, Georgia, about twice that size, and Azerbaidjan, three-fifths the size of England.

Siberia, to the east of European Russia, rises from plain to mountain as one moves eastward and southward, the western third as far as the great river, Yenisei, being plain with an area of some one and a half million square miles. Siberia forms part of the Russian Socialist Federative Republic (R.S.F.S.R.), although it includes a number of autonomous regions. South of its western spaces lie the Central Asian Republics with an area as large as Western Europe, and consisting of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, and Tajikistan, with a total population of little more than that of Lancashire. These republics stretch from the arid steppes around the Aral Sea southward and eastward to the great Pamir and Tien Chan ranges.

Siberia itself stretches from the Urals to the Pacific and from the Arctic Ocean to the Altai and Sayan ranges in the south. From its plains covered with feather-grass at the foot of the Urals to the oldest land area in the world, its rugged mountains facing the Pacific, is a distance of some 4500 miles. Only one railway, the Trans-Siberian, runs as yet across its entire breadth. The climate of Siberia becomes drier and more extreme from west to east until one approaches the slightly more temperate zone bordering the Pacific coast.

This is a brief break-down of the areas of the Soviet Union, but the whole mass is so large that it is difficult to present it in detail and preserve a clear picture. A Russian might become equally bewildered, although he normally has an immense capacity for absorbing figures, if one were to present him in one sequence with all details about the various British Colonies and mandates in Africa.

Australia, with an area of nearly 3,000,000 square miles, is over half as large as Siberia, and has a present population of seven millions. It is eleven thousand miles from Britain at its nearest point, and in its early stages, the "sea animals" had to maintain it at a distance twice as great as that from Moscow to the Pacific. Canada, with a land area of 3,500,000 square miles, is nearly half as large as the Soviet Union and has eleven million people. The Great Lakes system on its southern border is larger than Great Britain, and four times as large as the Aral Sea in Central Asia.

India, the third among the large units of the Commonwealth, has an area of 1,800,000 square miles, which is rather more than the continent of Europe without Russia. Ten times the size of the Ukraine, it supports about 390,000,000 or twelve times the

ISOTYPE VOCABULARY

Britain Russia
Soldiers



1700

Naval Ships



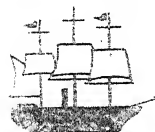
1750



1800



1850



1910



Population



Sea Transport



Vegetation



Tank



Air Transport



Wolves



Land



Sea



War



Plague



Minerals



Oil Production



Coal Production



Flax



Wheat



Rice

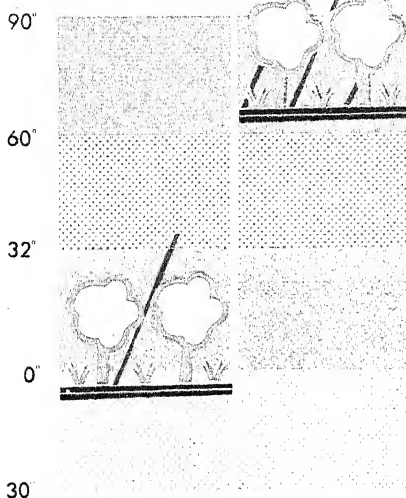
An index of the more important symbols which occur in this book.

Climate: Rain and Temperature

JANUARY

JULY

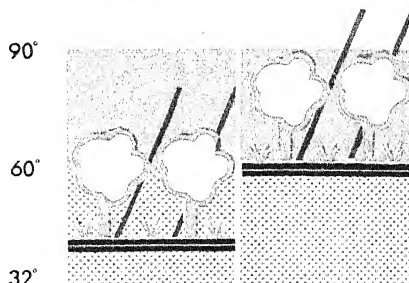
Winnipeg



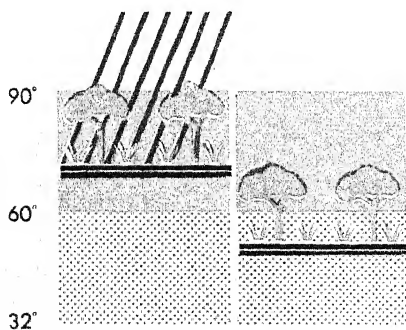
JANUARY

JULY

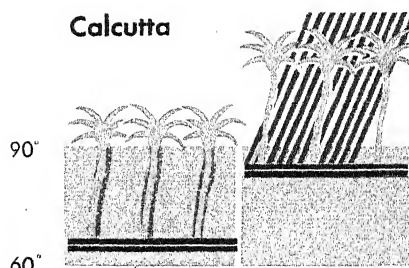
Oxford



Johannesburg



Calcutta

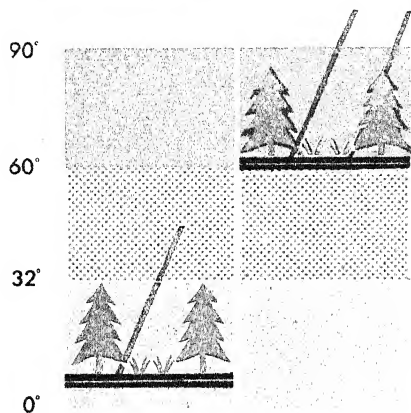


The blue lines represent the average monthly rainfall in inches (each line 1 inch)

The ground-level of the scenery indicates the temperature in degrees Fahrenheit

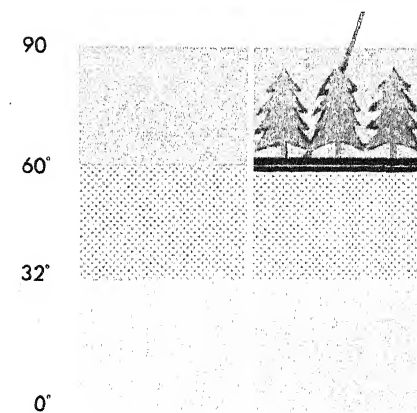
JANUARY JULY

Archangel

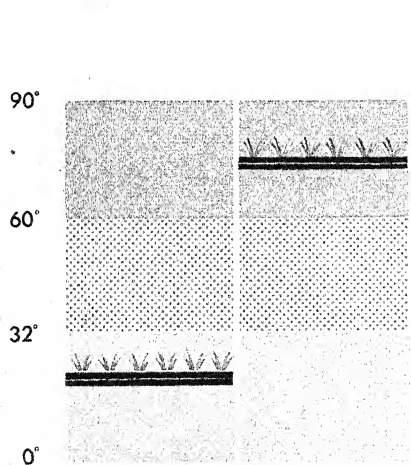


JANUARY JULY

Verkhoyansk (Siberia)



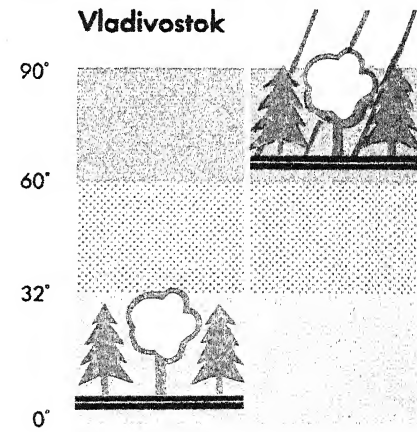
Astrakhan



-30°

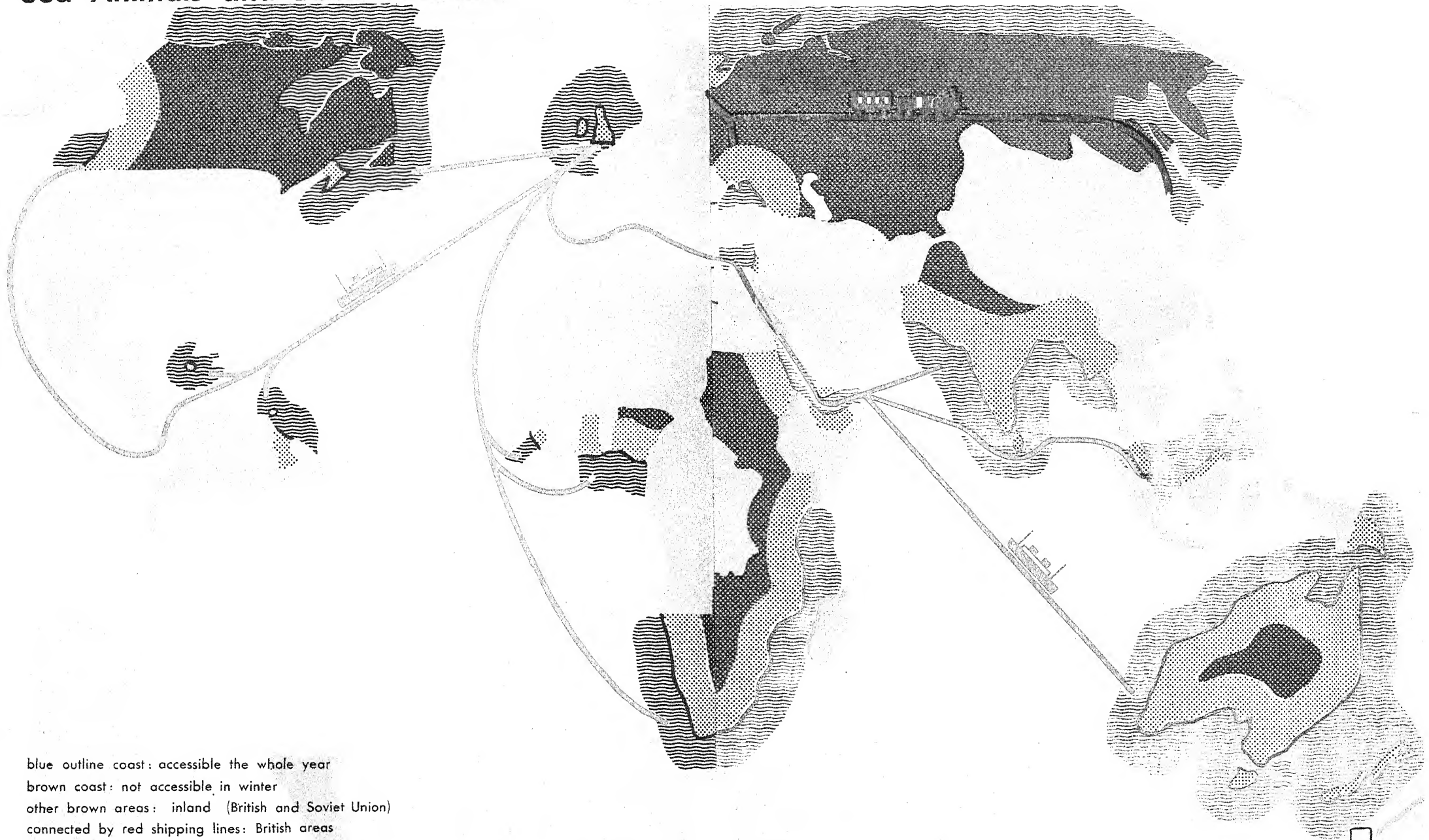
-60°

Vladivostok



Extreme cold is a commonplace of Soviet experience, and its influence is deeply impressed upon Russian history and character construction.

Sea Animals and Land Animals



blue outline coast: accessible the whole year
 brown coast: not accessible in winter
 other brown areas: inland (British and Soviet Union)
 connected by red shipping lines: British areas
 crossed by green railway lines: Soviet area

Communications are the blood-stream of a Commonwealth. Ours are on the oceans ; citizens have ever seen the sea.

but the Soviet Union has little open coastline, and comparatively few of its

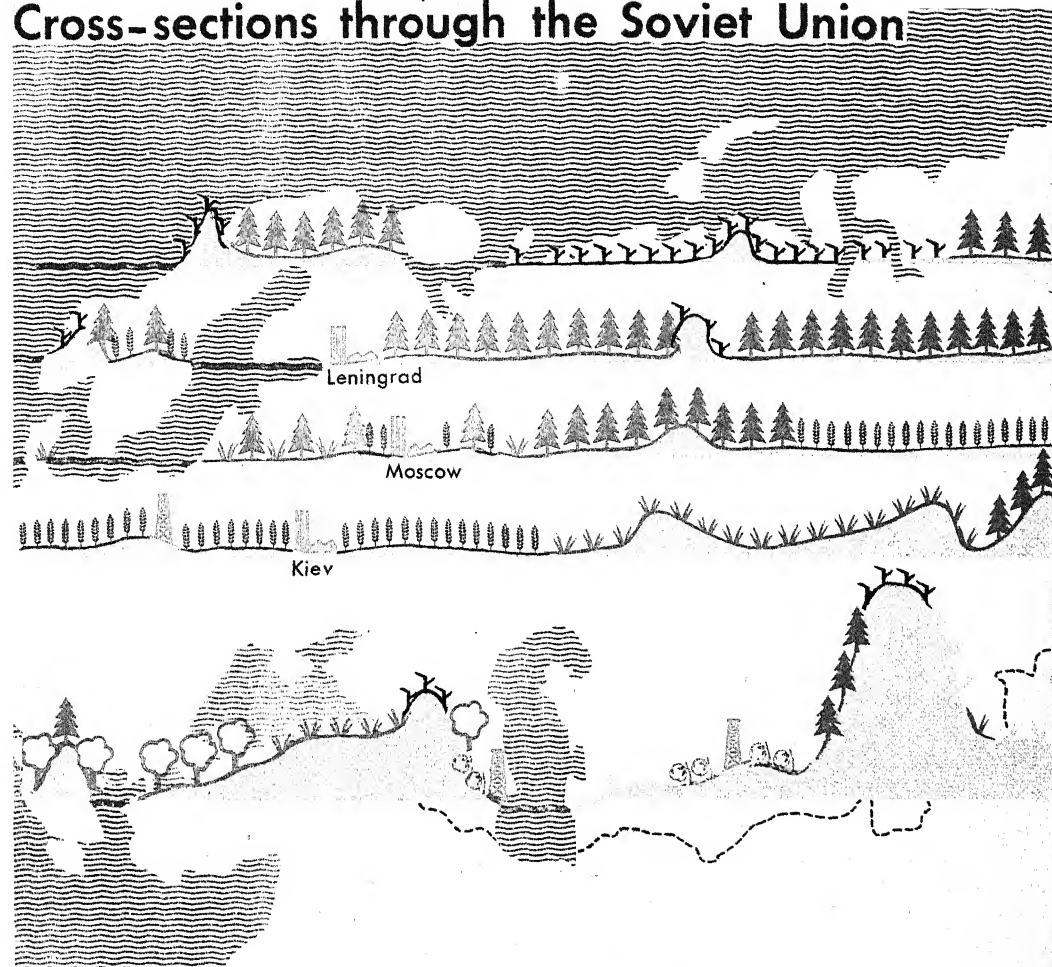
Travelling Distances



Each complete unit of distance stands for one week of travelling

The locomotive shortens effective distance on land, the steamship on the sea. But the aeroplane is the greatest annihilator of distance in both cases.

Cross-sections through the Soviet Union

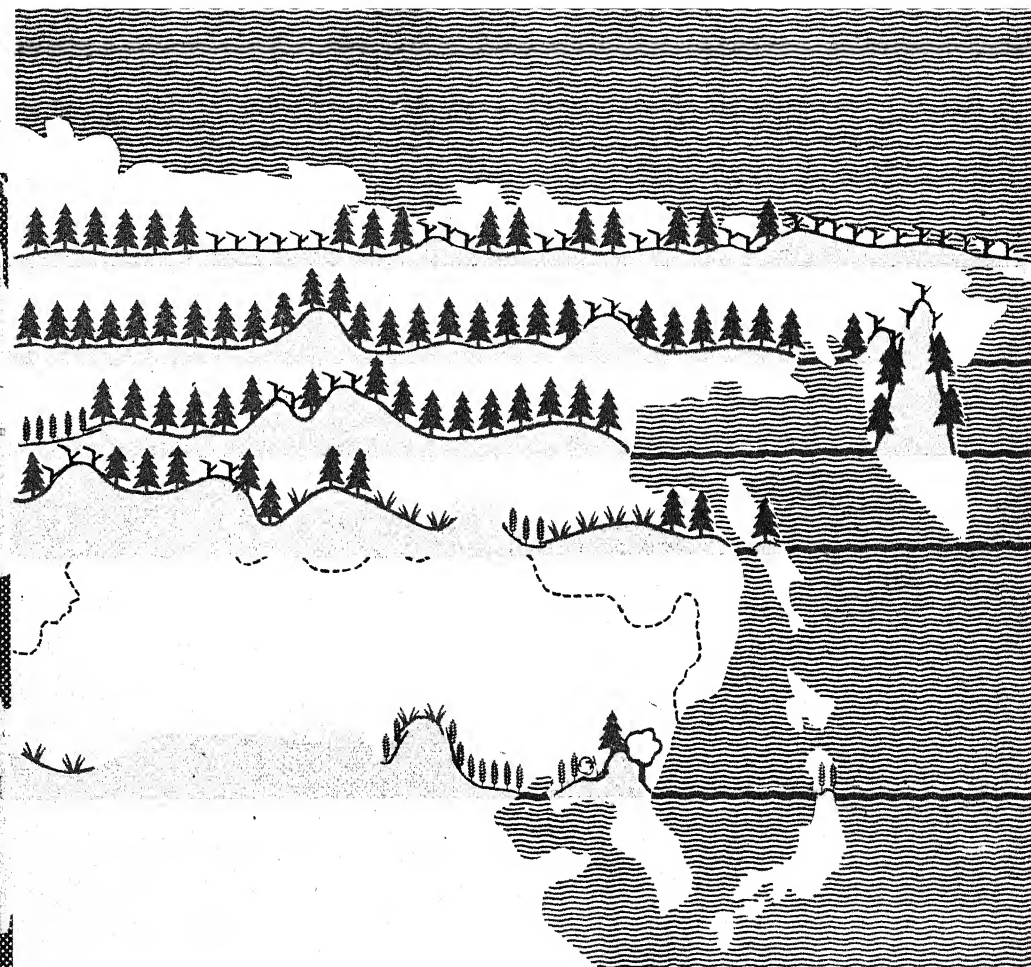


- 20,000 feet
- 15,000
- 10,000
- 5,000

brown : agriculture
green : forest, grass
grey : steppes, desert
black : tundra, mountain flora
red : oil industry, cities
blue : cotton

Mountains

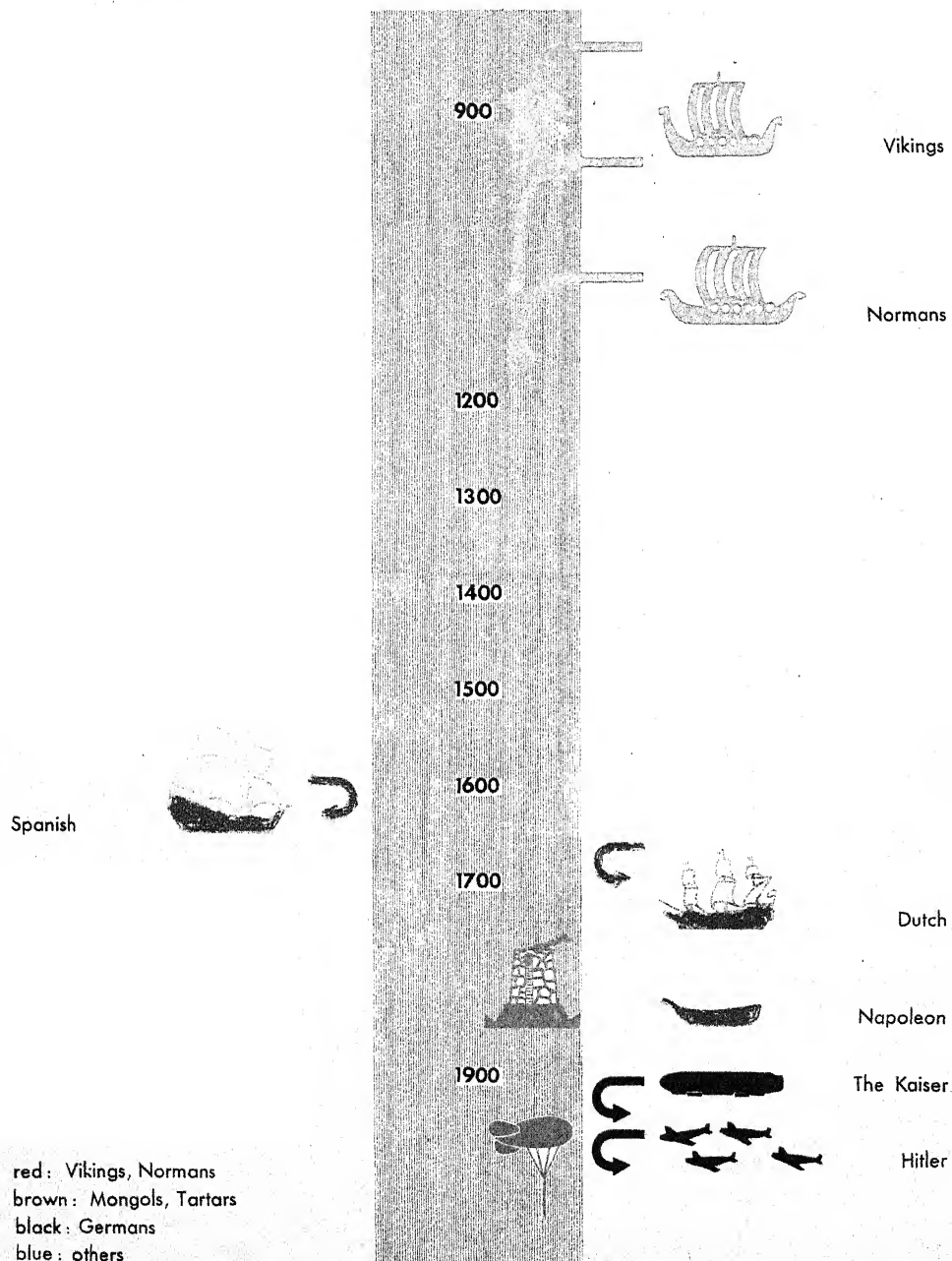
A land of vast plains and forests, with waste lands and deserts in the north and south.



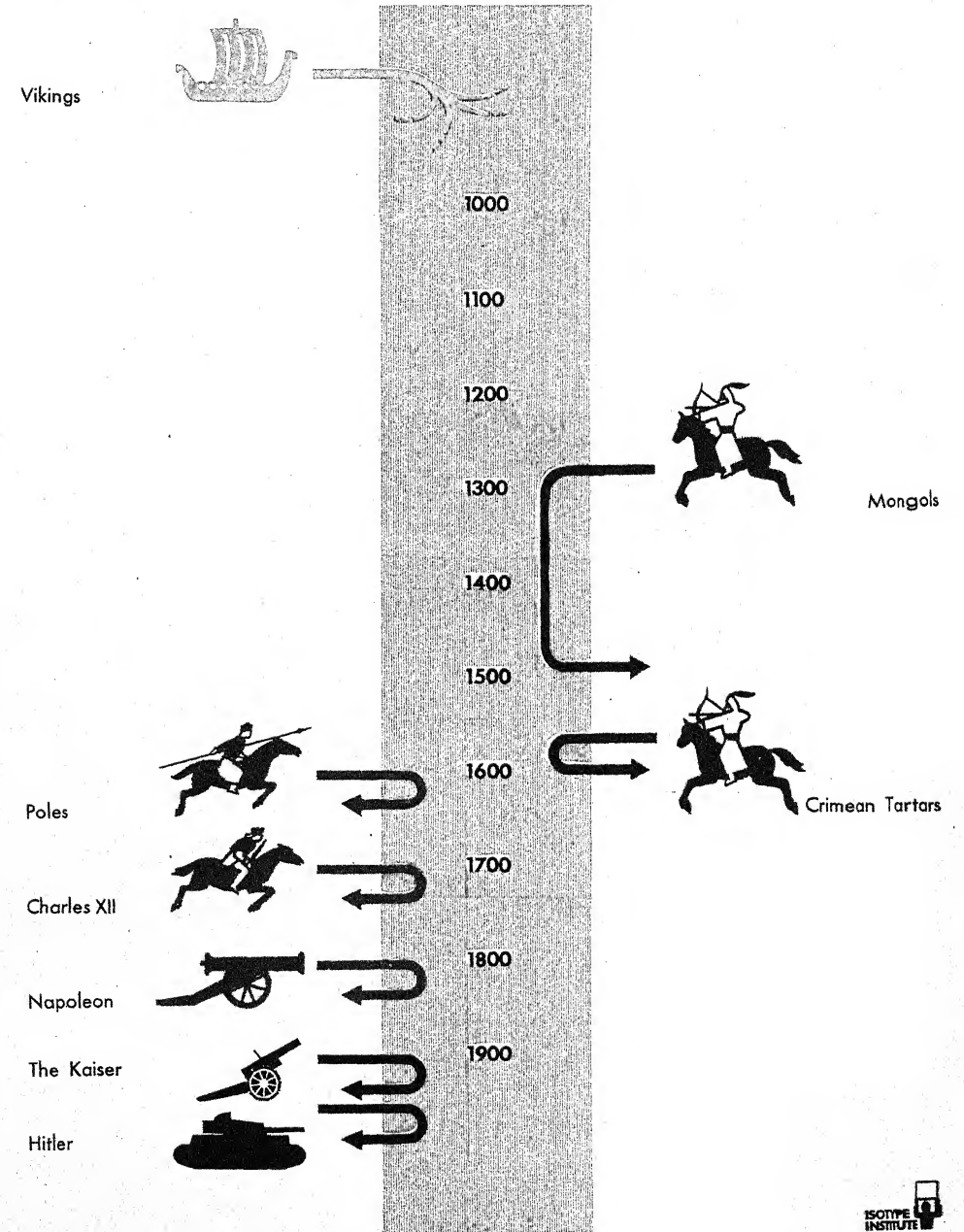
ISOTYPE
INSTITUTE

Its cultivated areas are scattered and segregated.

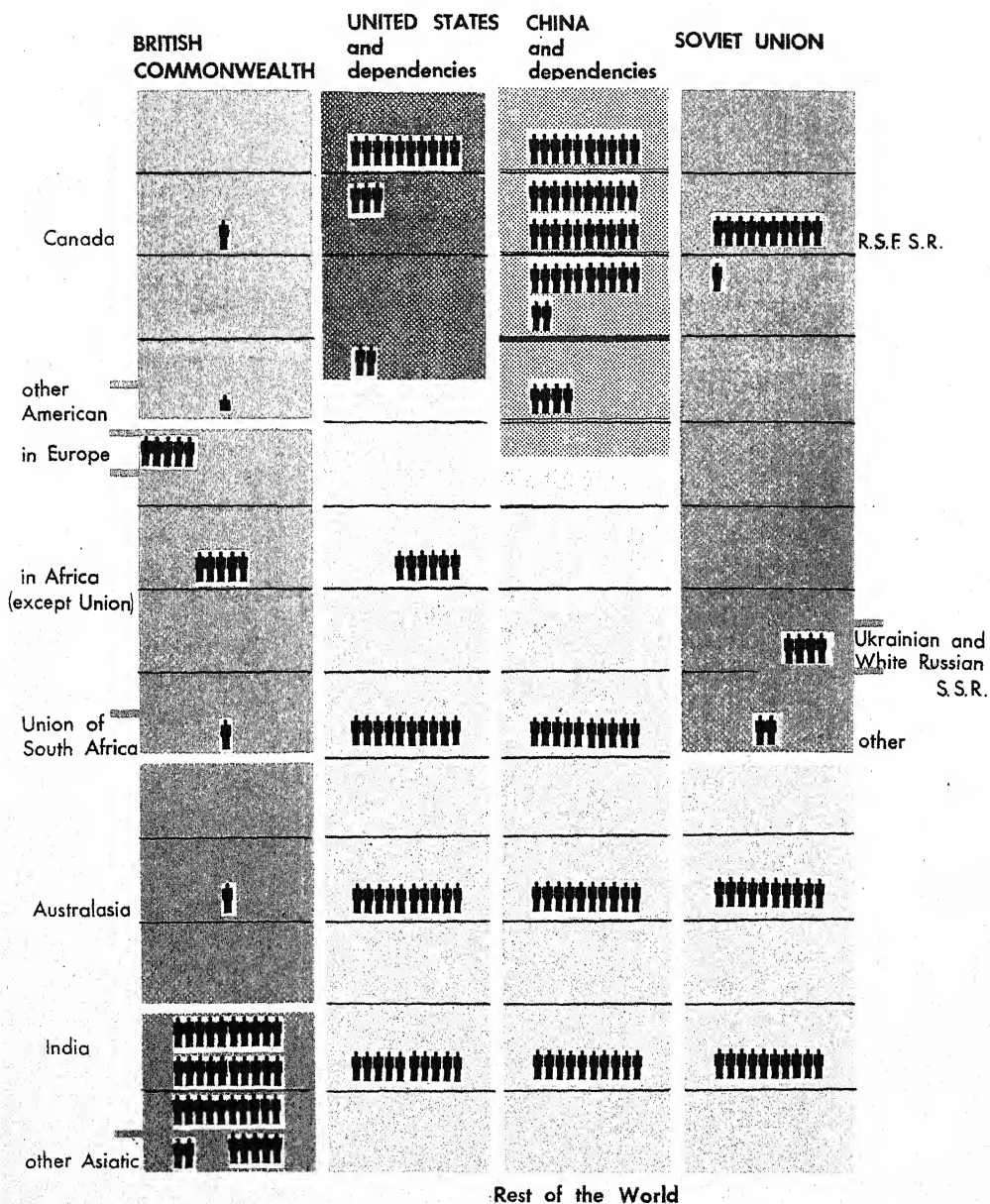
Conquerors on British Soil



Conquerors on Russian Soil



Area and Population



Each small rectangle between two black lines represents 1 million square miles
Each man symbol represents 10 million population



The British Commonwealth is much larger than the Soviet Union in area and in population. But four-fifths of its population is in India.

pre-war population of the 'Little Russian' republic, and its numbers are rapidly growing. South Africa, nearly half as large as the European part of the Soviet Union, and New Zealand, over half as large as the Ukraine, complete the larger constellation of our Commonwealth.

Altogether, the Dominions and the Colonies form in themselves a large 'question.' If they are considered together with the Soviet Union, then the 'question' becomes one which dominates our little globe.

The Commonwealth is a sprawling, loose-limbed creature, still quite young in parts, which has grown apparently haphazard, but, to use a Stalinist phrase, "following the logic of events." Many of its members are almost unaware of the existence of the others. A busy steaming of no less than two thousand ships at sea at any given moment has helped to keep the parts united. To this must be added in the near future fleets of some hundreds of trading planes. Otherwise the link of the Commonwealth is only the Crown, common citizenship, and—in spite of the variety of status as between, for example, Australia and Bechuanaland—a vague sense of continuous development.

The political structure of the Soviet Union is tighter and has a more vertical shape, if only for the reason that it has one single political party, the Communist Party, throughout its length and breadth. The various Constituent Republics have a considerable measure of autonomy—particularly, but not only, cultural and educational—and as a result of the recent Constitutional changes this will also extend to matters of their foreign affairs and defence. But perhaps the greatest measure of 'devolution' has been achieved in the sphere of economic regionalism. This is partly due to the immense strides in industrialization in the past fifteen years—Ukraine, Kuznetsk Basin (Kuzbas), and the Far East—but partly also to the immense land distances involved in railway long-hauls and the need for economic self-sufficiency of as many areas as possible. We have yet to see what will be the effects of the Second World War on the Soviet Union's economy. For the British Commonwealth, the development of primary and secondary industries in the Dominions and colonies, and the tendency from a primary to a mixed-crop system in the colonies, radically alter the picture.

Both for the Russians and for ourselves distances have become shorter. The ships of our Merchant Adventurers, in their day the equivalent of Russian sledges and river barges, might complete a trip to the East Indies and back in eighteen months or two years. Nowadays they have become fast freighters and liners, bringing Canada to within five days' distance, South Africa little more than a fortnight's, and Australia, five weeks', while the Russian sledge has become the Trans-Siberian express train speeding from Moscow to Vladivostock, a matter of 5500 miles, in ten days.

Convenient harbours and watering places determined British development—from Liverpool to Sidney and Halifax, the St Lawrence and the Great Lakes, from Gibraltar to Bathurst, Lagos, and Cape Town; from Gibraltar to Malta, Aden, and Bombay, thence to Singapore, Melbourne, and Auckland. For the British Commonwealth the cutting of the Suez Canal, which saved the "sea animals" the passage round Africa on the route to the East, was the equivalent for the "land animals" of the opening at the beginning of this century of the Trans-Siberian Railway. The spices of the East may have scented the wind for our sailors, and its silks dazzled their eyes, but the opportunities for taking in fresh water governed their passages.

On the other hand as the Russians forced their way eastward into Siberia, their expansion was governed by the shape of the land and its sites which would give protection for settlements, the areas which would give pasture for horses, and the closeness of rivers which would enable barges to be hauled on rollers from one water system to another.

This contrast in our development is seen most clearly in the Russian and British 'pincer movement' on the magic land of Cathay. The spearhead of the Russian 'arm' travels laboriously across the fertile central stretch of Siberia from one fort-settlement to the next. It begins in the mid-sixteenth century, when the Czar grants a Charter to Gregory Stroganov for the exploitation of the lands of Perm (the Urals) and Mangaseia, the fabled land beyond. The Russian merchants took with them vodka and tobacco as our sailors took trinkets and gin for sale to the natives, not so much because of the natural wickedness of man, as because these commodities travel light. By 1609 a settlement had been established on the Yenesei, the central of the three great Siberian rivers, which run northward into the Arctic ocean and the drainage basin of each of which is as large as western Europe.

By 1632 Yakutsk had been reached, on the Lena, the easternmost of the three rivers. But it was not until fifty years later that Russian emissaries reached the River Amur, and by negotiation with the Chinese who used two Jesuit priests as interpreters, fixed that river as the boundary between the Dominions of the Czar and Cathay. Meanwhile, British ships, competing with those of Portugal, had passed round the Cape of Good Hope, to India and beyond, moving from one friendly harbour to the next.

In Russia, the furious development of the past twenty-five years has given millions of the "land animals" a sense of what they possess in the U.S.S.R. Whereas with us our 'mind's eye' picture of land is of small rolling fields, hedges, and a near horizon, with the Russians the inseparable picture is one of vastness. This has undoubtedly played its part in forming within the Russian mind the idea of a quality which they admire, and, indeed, which they believe to be essential to greatness—*Razmakh*, meaning sweep or range. This sense of the breadth of their country and their ownership of its riches has come in the past twenty-five years to be often expressed by the simple word *Nash*, meaning simply 'our.' A field, a crop, an aeroplane, a railway, or a person is *Nash*, or ours. I remember travelling in a suburban electric train a short distance from Moscow not long after Russia had been attacked in 1941. The train was crowded as usual and a man, in breeches and a leather jacket, and obviously of some moderate position stepped on the foot of one of two ladies standing in the central passage. She protested; whereupon he lost his temper and began rudely to shout at the two ladies. They said nothing at the time, but a minute later when all was quiet bent towards each other and said in a hoarse whisper, "*On ne nash*—He is not one of ours. Better see his documents."

The whisper was taken up by bystanders. "He's not one of ours." Others whispered "*Nekulturnii chelovek*"—"Uncultured person," the most effectual epithet that can be hurled at a modern Russian, the final crushing expression to be used in a tram argument, when all the swearing of that rich language has been exhausted. It was the suggestion, however, that he was not *Nash*, which caused him to whip out his passport and other personal papers and pathetically hand them around in the

compartment. The proof that he was a Soviet citizen made the ladies shake their heads sadly, but they were mollified.

Travel by train in Russia is a great help to understanding both its size and its people. With your fellow passengers you travel as a family, and in five days you learn as much of the spirit of the countryside and of the great heart of the people as in five months living next door to them. On a trip from Moscow to the Urals via Kuibyshev, you stand in the corridor and exclaim with the others, as you watch the Soviet tractors chugging over an immense field to the horizon where a roughly constructed snow-fence stretches for a mile or two before disappearing on the edges of a birch copse. The *provodnik* who makes tea in a samovar at the end of the coach, alternately laughs or growls to himself as he edges along the corridor with four or five chinking glasses of straw-coloured milkless tea. Children wander from one compartment to the next in search of games or tit-bits, and throughout the coach the smells vary from that of mandarin oranges from the Caucasus to the general 'froust' caused by double windows. At stations the train stops for perhaps a few minutes, perhaps for an hour and a half. There is time, at least, for all to descend and to haggle with the peasant women who have brought eggs, milk, and butter and honey in bottles from the neighbouring farms. One has a cooked goose to sell, another two pounds of pickled gerkins. Back in the train, and after two or three days of the same communal life, and with a lazy wearing of dressing-gowns until the late morning, you exclaim with the others at the sight of the Volga, and the 300 feet freight barges drifting down. Beyond the Volga, on the Windy Steppe, where you will see an occasional camel, hauling a low cart or a plough, as a contrast to the tractors and the outlines of oil-derricks on the sky-line, the wind insistently flattens the long, dry stalks of last year's heath grass. Its gusts roar over the train. You are already part of a group of kindly, hospitable Slavs before you approach the new factories and blocks of Chkalovsk and exclaim with them at the pine-covered "mountains," which are really only the moderate foothills of the Urals.

One has the same feeling of size in flying from Moscow to Murmansk via Vologda and Archangel. The universal snow is broken by patches of black-pine forest and by tracks leading to the 'inhabited points' of the Soviet communiques—*khutori*, collections of farm buildings, and villages, from which the domed church rises clear. Past the smooth white of frozen lakes, and the broken white of ice-bound rivers, you fly with the pine woods becoming smaller and more spaced, and the birch trunks no longer showing black and white but becoming stunted, until all that is left against the snow is the dull red feathering of their new buds. Finally, all that is left is the snow, an occasional jutting black rock, and the shadows of little folds of the earth. That is something of the size of the land Commonwealth. Its nature and that of our sea Commonwealth have inevitably influenced the sizes of both our Armies and Navies, their types, character, and equipment. Their basic strategies have evolved in keeping with the vast territories with which they have to deal.

In the small world of to-day the Grand Circle air routes have to pass by way of the Soviet Union and the British Commonwealth—whether from Canada to India, from Peking via Archangel to London, or from London via Moscow to Australia. That is how small, and how large is the 'question' of Russia and ourselves in the world of to-morrow morning.

“Well, it’s a long story....”

A young woman of an inquiring mind once asked me, “How is it that the Russians have managed to throw back the Germans only twenty-five years after their revolution?” The answer I made was, “Well, it’s a long story ; *not* a short one.” I reminded her of the explanation given in a broadcast on the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Revolution and about the time of the Moscow Conference by Dmitri Manuilsky, one of the chief Russian theoreticians and an old member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He said :

Only a people who conquered the German Knights at Lake Peipus, who routed the Mongol Khans at Kolikovy Field, who struck a mortal blow at Napoleon at Borodino, could achieve such a great Social Revolution as the Revolution of October 1917. And only a people which had accomplished this Revolution could strike such a mortal blow against such a monster as Fascist Germany and secure all the conditions for final victory.

This does not mean that Russia, in regaining her national consciousness, is abandoning the economic results of the Revolution of 1917, or any likelihood that the influence of the Communist Party within the Soviet Union will be less than in the past. But it does mean that throughout history the Russian, with the strong contrasts of his character, has been able to gather together with something like a surge of the spirit an immense force capable of crushing that of an invader, and to accept with unbelievable endurance the orders necessary to carry this out. The gunners manning the batteries against Napoleon at Borodino and fighting on after the charging enemy were already among the guns, were paralleled by others on the Central, Briansk, and Millerovo fronts in 1941 and 1942, who fired on against the Panzers until these were blasting the guns from hand-grenade range.

The story of how Russia became a kingdom, then an Empire, and finally a Union of Soviet Republics has many sharp differences from our own. But it is a story which needs telling side by side with ours, and not separately. Otherwise the differences are too marked. The Russians tend to be viewed as beings from another planet. Both our peoples seem to have come into history through trading with the Phœnicians and other Levantines. Not long before the beginning of the Christian era, these traders went to Scythia, the rich, cosmopolitan empire of Southern Russia, for wheat to support the city states of the Mediterranean. They went to Britain to buy metal. The main difference between the Russian story and our own is that we were secure so much earlier. Before the sixth century A.D. and even during the earliest Anglo-Saxon invasions, communities of the British Church were able to exist in comparative safety in the smaller islands off our northern coasts. Britain was, in fact, an exporter of culture to the Continent. Sea-power was the key to the unification of Britain. When Alfred, the ninth-century Saxon king, had spent some time gathering together a fleet he was able to defeat the Danish invaders by cutting their sea lines of communication, and for a while unified the kingdom. In fact, he found time to send emissaries to Athens and to India—in the manner of the good English, who have always “sought distant places.”

Later, it is true, we succumbed temporarily to Danish and Viking sea power, and it was a little while before the Kingdom could be unified once more.

But from the eighth century onward, for about four hundred years, the Vikings were sailing all round Europe. Their technique at sea was more advanced than ours or that of the North African pirates, or of the Byzantine Empire. They also probed down the great Russian waterways. The Varangian branch of the Scandinavians brought their trading flotillas through the rivers of Russia and of the State of Kiev to meet the trading Greeks on the Black Sea coasts. They rolled their ships across the necks of land between the water systems—the *Voloks* which give rise to such place names as Volokolamsk, north-west of Moscow, between the north-western and central river systems, and Vologda, between the central and northern water basins. By the end of the ninth century the Vanrangians, or “Rus,” as they were called, had established themselves in Novgorod and Kiev. This form of river invasion was a complication for the Slavs of quite another problem—that of defending their land frontiers, which was their normal lot. On the North-west Frontier of India, for the past 150 years, we have had to maintain armed forts in the territory of the hill tribes, who, without our presence, would have been capable at any moment of raiding down into the plains below. We have had to maintain incessant watchfulness and frequently fight. But what is our 150 years experience of such a frontier compared with that of the Russians? To take up his spear or musket, to withstand an invader and cast him out of the land, is something which every Russian or his son throughout history has had to expect for certain.

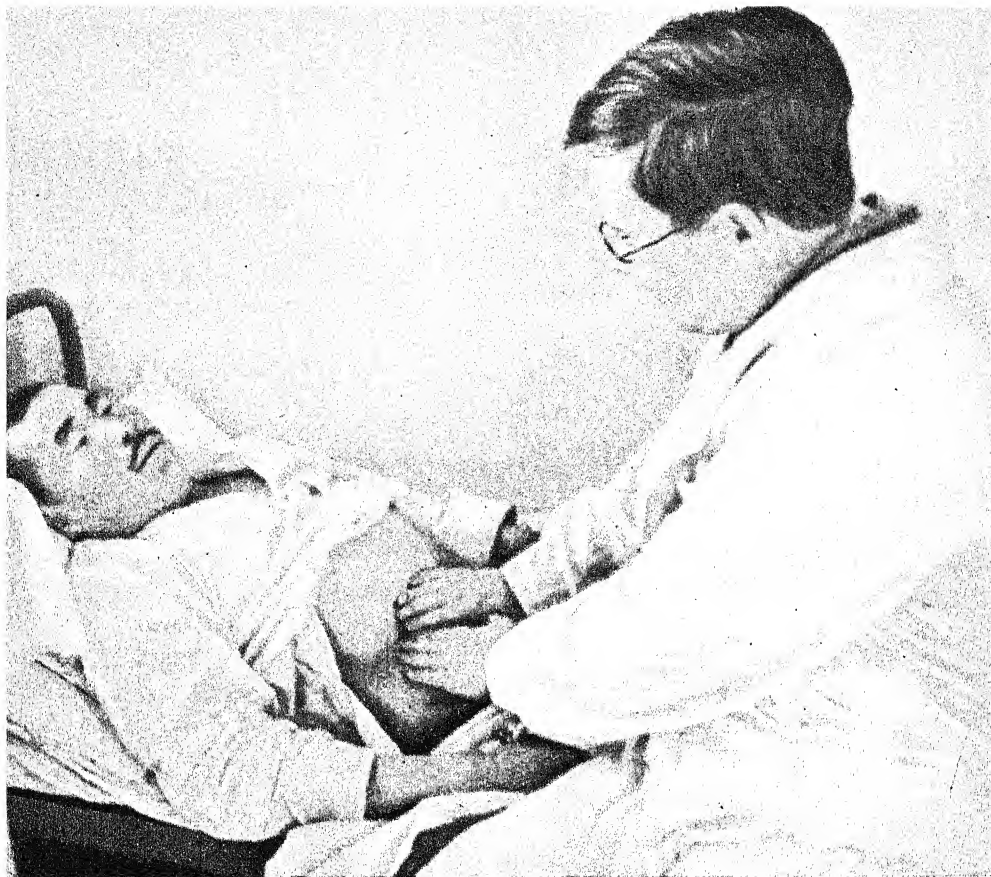
By the eleventh century England was already a unified, self-supporting community of people, who could indulge in the task of trying to subdue the Irish. Britain quickly became an exporting country, and with the aid of mounting sea-power was able to maintain the wool trade with the Low Countries, especially after the battle of Sluys (1340). On the other hand, European Russia was not united until very much later than the Norman Conquest, and the Ukraine came finally within the Russian Empire not long after the Union of England and Scotland in 1707.

The following is a list of the invaders of Russia (by centuries): Goths (3rd); Huns (4th); Avars (6th); Khasars, Bolgars (7th); Magyars (8th); Varangians (9th); Pechenegs (10th); Kipchaks or Polovtsy (12th); Mongols, and Tartars, Teuton Knights (13th); Tartars (14th); Turks, Crimean Tartars (15th); Tartars, Turks (16th); Poles (17th); Swedes (18th); French, Persians (19th); Germans, Poles, Germans (20th.)

Thus, Russia became unified only slowly, and gained ascendancy over her neighbours only as they became disorganized. The need for a safe frontier caused Russia to expand so soon as she had become stronger than those who had formerly invaded her. Traders, rather than an offensive people, as Sir John Maynard has said:

They moved through the wildernesses, where weaker peoples made way or let themselves be absorbed, winning battles, not with man, but with unpropitious nature. Organized kingdoms have always called a long halt to their advance. But there was no natural limit to expansion, except the frozen north, the Pacific Ocean, and the mountains and deserts to the south, and the forests were not of the impenetrable sort.

Ivan the Fourth, ruler of Moscow, contemporary with the English Wars of the Roses, brings the “land animals” to the status of a Power. He absorbs Novgorod and North Russia, and taking advantage of the decline of Mongol power on the Volga starts the train of Russian expansion eastward. It is shortly after Ivan that we first hear of the



For generations 'shamans,' or witch-doctors, practised their arts among the peoples of Northern Asia. Wonder at a kindly Soviet doctor on the face of an inhabitant of the Chukcha Arctic region.

Russians' skill in the use of artillery, which has continued to this day. Their "music of the artillery" is an ancient expression, and it is symbolic that when first the Russians began finally to drive the Germans westward, Stalin ordered the first of those many salvos of guns which have greeted their victories. An Elizabethan account of Russia mentioned that "It is thought that no Prince of Christendome hath better store of munition, then the Russe Emperour. And this may partly appeare by the Artillery at Mosco, where are of all sortes of great Ordinance, all brasse pieces, very faire, to an exceeding great number."

The history of Russia's expansion into the almost empty lands of the east is vague. The Stroganov family, who had the charter for the exploitation of the east in the sixteenth century, kept the map-making in their own hands for some two centuries, and even in the early eighteenth century Peter the Great was still not sure whether Asia and America were joined. The Stroganovs, with their bands of Cossacks, sent back furs and salt to the west, as they traded gradually farther east. It was under-

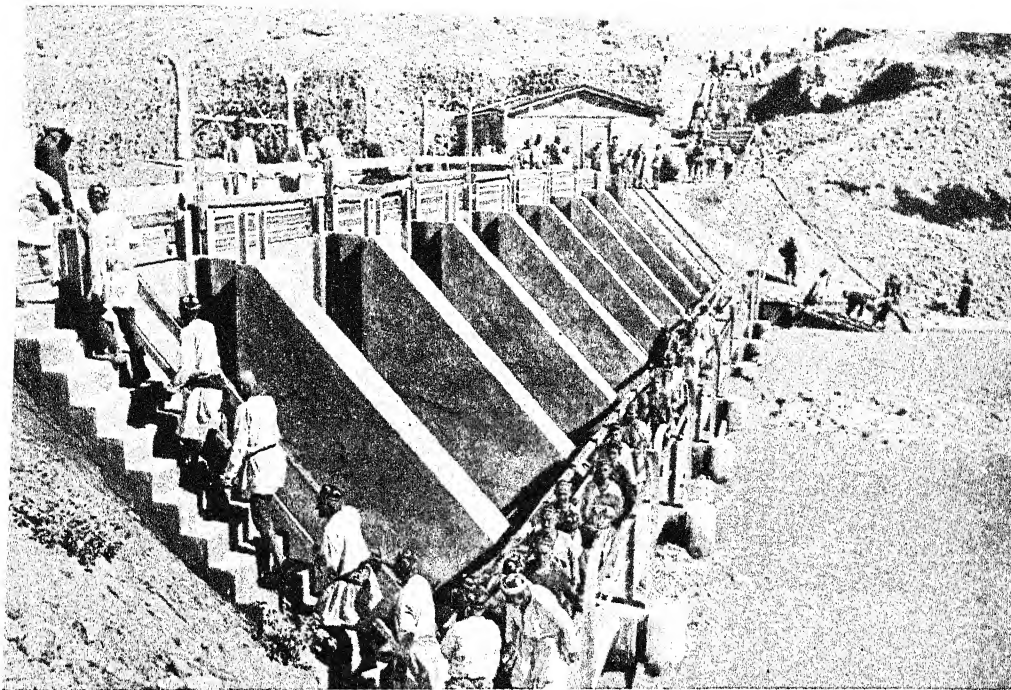


Nigerian school-children instructed in physical training by a local teacher. A large-scale plan to extend education in West Africa has been prepared by the British Government.

populated territory which willingly accepted refugees from the autocratic rule of the Czars and the stern Orthodoxy of the Church. Settlements sprang up slowly and were peopled partly with convicts, for whom it was a convenient place of exile from the seventeenth century onward, much as Britain in the earliest stages sent convicts to North America and Australia.

The "land animals" established a system of land forts east of the Urals at a time when we were establishing our ports of call—Gibraltar, Malta, and the West Indies. But the essential fact is that Russia was fighting the Swedes, the Poles, and acquiring a permanent hold on 'New Russia' in the south, and the Ukraine, when we had already tried and killed a king (Charles I), and the rising middle class had begun to establish its political rights within our State.

Unified England could already in 1215 afford 'Magna Carta,' which limited the power of the crown and led to the setting up of Parliamentary government. The State overcame the temporal power of the Church in the sixteenth and early seventeenth



Canalizing the scarce waters of Central Asia to support modern agriculture is an immense task. Uzbek collective farmworkers visit headworks of the Great Ferghana Canal

centuries. Russia, on the other hand, was a land of feudal peasantry until centuries later, while Peter the Great (1686-1725) had to work for seventeen years to break the power of the Moscow Patriarchate. As a result of our securer history, the industrial revolution began to occur in England around 1750, but in Russia not until toward the end of the nineteenth century.

Nevertheless, both peoples have been distinguished by an ability to improvise, by inventiveness and craftsmanship. Both peoples have been curious to know and to learn, the Russians now with more opportunity than ever before. The western European tradition has flowed in ourselves, whereas the civilization of Athens and Constantinople historically found a line into Russia through Kiev and Moscow.

The Russian and Anglo-Saxon expansionist surges met on a mountain line in California in the nineteenth century. We had already lost the colonies of North America, and thus it was Americans whom the Russians met. Russia withdrew to Alaska, which in 1867 she sold to the United States.

The straight autocratic line of history of the Czarist Empire came to a sudden break in 1917, and largely as a result of Stalin's influence upon Lenin over the question of nationalities within the Empire, a Union of Soviet Republics was developed. This form was fixed again more firmly in the Constitution of 1936, with much local freedom for the nationalities. Britain, on the other hand, step by step over the years has handed over power to her former dependants.

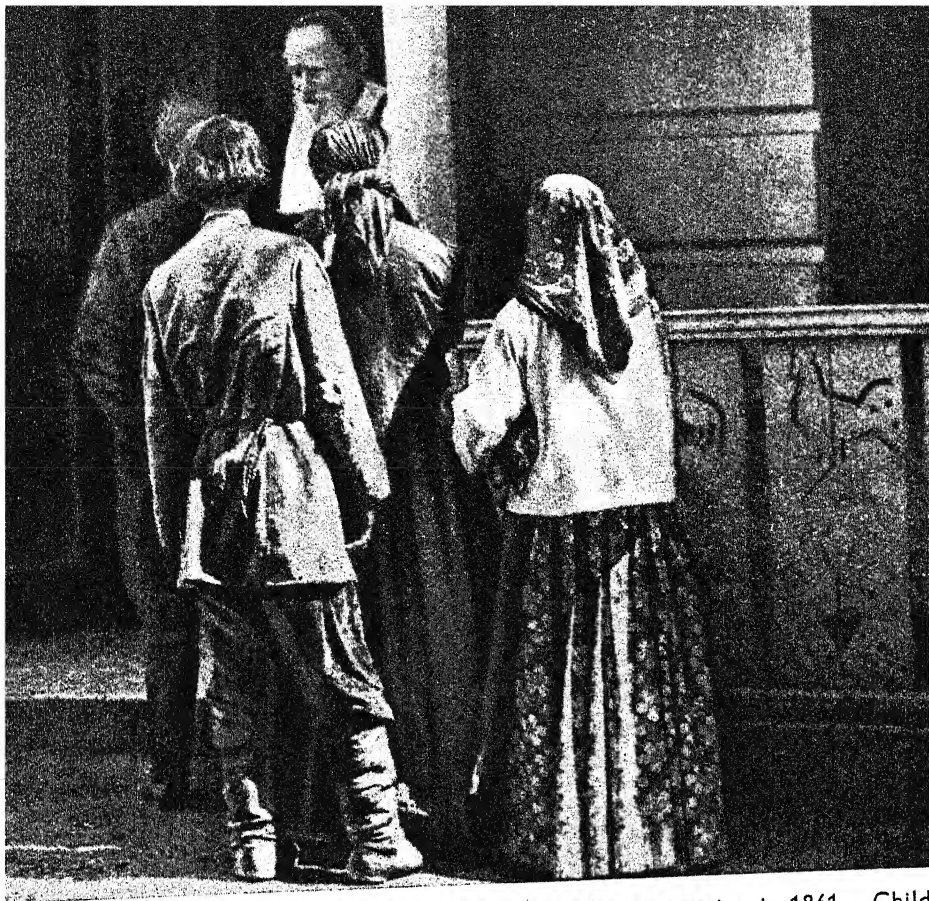
The later part of the long Russian story is in keeping with the rest, and it is necessary



On the Sydney Harbour Bridge, majestic and beautiful at night, ten million pounds was spent. This is a better-known example of the development going on within the self-governing Dominions.

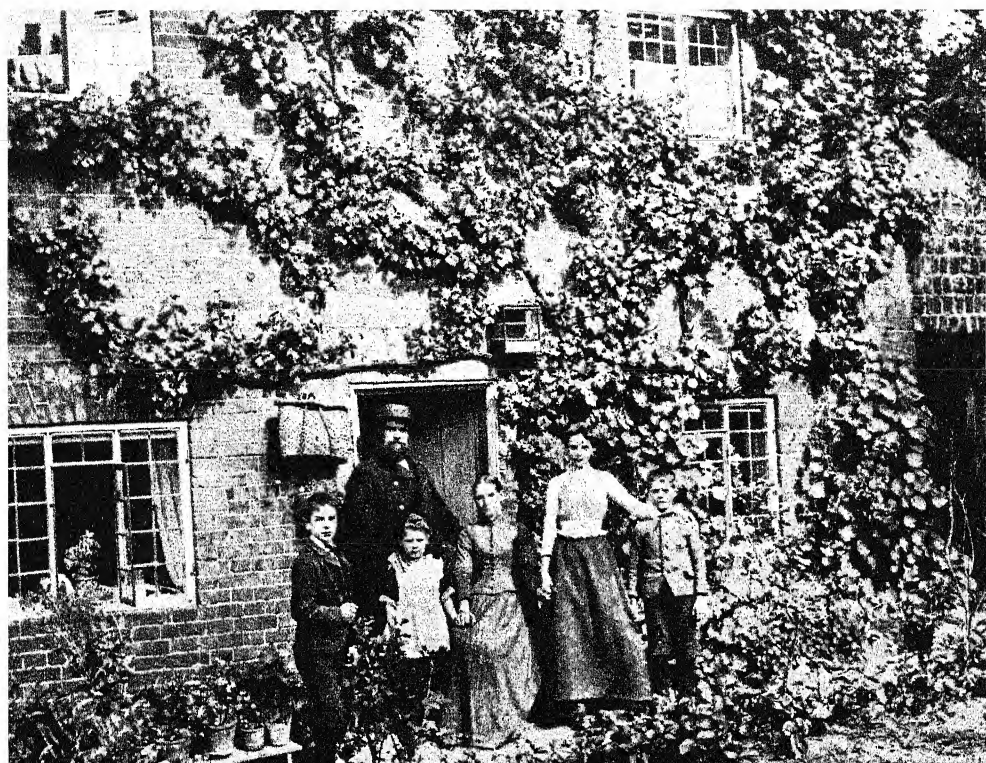
to see it in perspective. As a result of a hundred years of growing strength, dominated by three strong rulers, Peter the Great, Catherine II, and Alexander I, the "land animals" in the early nineteenth century obtained a form of military control over much of the Caucasus. The Shah of Persia fought a disastrous war with them in 1827, and had to surrender certain provinces, to be followed by complete absorption by the Russian Empire, in the later half of the nineteenth century, of the region of Turkestan out of which have been formed the Soviet Central Asian Republics. At about the same time Russia was seeking a warm-water outlet, and came into conflict with Britain over the question of power in the Black Sea, to be followed in the later decades of last century by Russia's assisting the Balkan peoples to free themselves from the declining power of the Turks.

In the same century Russia's communications began to improve, but behind the wall of her military power she was still far removed socially from Western Europe. It was through her aristocrats, intellectuals, and industrialists, with their opportunities of travel, that liberalizing ideas from Western Europe reached Russia. When the first Communist Manifesto was published in 1848, and its authors referred to the spirit of social revolt then abroad, in the opening phrase, *Ein Gespenst geht um in Europa* ("A ghost walks in Europe"), they were, geographically speaking, only partly correct. The Czarist Empire seized the opportunity of a popular rising to pacify and absorb part of Poland which had remained independent from the time of the partitions of that country in the eighteenth century. It was only in 1861, without any preparation



Count Tolstoy freed his serfs before the general emancipation in 1861. Children of these same serfs look up to him at the door of his home at Yasnaya Polyana.

and without any large-scale programme for endowing them with a little necessary capital, that the millions of Russia's peasants were freed from serfdom. Various liberalizing and educational movements failed to achieve any substantial social changes in Russia. British Church schools had existed for half a century, and education of all by the State was just beginning in our country, when Lenin in 1888 joined the Russian Revolutionary movement. His brother had been hanged for his part in revolutionary activities which included an attempt on the life of the Czar. Owing to the vacillating policy of the Romanov dynasty regarding necessary reforms, the greater part of the Russian people remained illiterate, and large land-holdings and many of the Ural mines continued to be worked by tied labour at a time when the major Trade Union, Factory, and Wages Acts had been passed in Britain. Politics among an emotional people took a bitter turn. There were minor movements of terrorism, anarchism, nihilism. Among the important working-class leaders a split in principle occurred just after the turn of the century.





The Russian still loves his folk-dances. Only a balalaika is needed.

in a period of chaos. When rivers run in natural channels they do little damage, even when in spate. But when dams give way villages are engulfed and people carried far. This was the case with the Russian Revolution, which was a sudden development resulting from a piling up of waters.

A torrent of emotion, both for and against the Revolution, was released. The struggle, embittered by foreign intervention, lasted for four years. After such a welter it is surprising not that so much was swept away, but that so much was retained—that so many churches were left standing, so many monuments guarded, so many art treasures and palaces unharmed; so much of the administrative machine salvaged and refurbished; so much military knowledge and service tradition unrelinquished and used in the new Soviet Peoples' Army.

The "land animals" were invaded once more between 1918 and 1921, and again in 1929 and 1941, but were successful. Part of their energy during these years they devoted to making secure their land frontiers: by supporting a friendly buffer state in the People's Republic of Mongolia, by taking a strip of land from Finland to provide an operational area for Leningrad and its naval bases, and by demanding from Rumania in 1940 the return of Bessarabia, with its proximity to the mouth of the Danube. The centuries-old dispute over the eastern frontier of Poland was also raised at this period as a direct result of the German invasion of the Polish Republic.



The Englishman likes his game—any game. This is dominoes.

But most of the released energies and emotions of the Revolution were devoted to a greater assault upon nature. To bind it with railways, to leap over it with aeroplanes. To seize from the earth its coal and ores, to drain its oil. To push forward with handfuls of men into the North, and maintain them against the Arctic night and its blizzards and its melancholia. To drag ploughs with tractors across a larger area of earth, and force it for the first time to yield sufficient food not only for the country-folk but also for an immense industrial population. To irrigate after many centuries the dried-out wastes of Central Asia.

Two great famines occurred, but later, before 1941, Nature was yielding sufficient, and her products were being distributed. Much machinery was wasted or even wrecked by elements among a people who were as comparatively unused to industrialization as the machine breakers who supported the Chartist Movement in this country a century ago. But such was the determination of the Soviet leaders, and such the adaptability of a clever race, that by 1941 the home-produced military material with which the Red Army opposed the German machine was up to the standards of a modern Great Power.

The fact that the Soviet Union was aided in the struggle by British and American supplies in no way detracts from the immense effort of passion, endurance, and method which she had made throughout nearly a generation.

Against this picture of a spasm of effort can be contrasted the fact that Britain's last conquest occurred at the turn of the century in the war with the Boers ; won through our possession of sure sea-lanes for the supply of the troops in South Africa. Since that date Britain has taken on only mandates on behalf of an international organization—she has simply assumed responsibilities for planning and maintaining a way of life in various territories such as some of the former African colonies of Germany. The children of the "sea animals" have grown up and become free to act as they please. New Zealand, one of them, in 1920 accepted the responsibility of the mandate of Samoa. They attended the League of Nations as individual nations. In 1939 South Africa, by a fairly narrow margin, voted herself into the Second World War. Eire, with whom our historical relations have for religious and economic reasons been as troubled as those, for similar reasons, between Russia and Poland, preferred to stay out.

As an Englishman I have felt a twinge of pity on being offered frighteningly large sums of money for my passport by Balkan Jews. I can pick up my paper and read of a man who has been torpedoed nine times and still goes back to sea. I know of a conversation with a Canadian soldier who remarked, "One of the things I like about you English is the nice way you treat our King." And therefore when I am asked, "How is it that the Russians have knocked back the Germans?" I can only refer to history, which is a long story and always marches right up to yesterday.

I also think of the letters I was privileged to read, written to his wife by a Soviet partisan officer, son of a priest and a formerly disprivileged person because of his origin. Personal letters ; full of flaming emotion about bending and kissing regained Soviet soil. I remember the Moscow version of Simonov's play, *The Russians*. A partisan goes out on a necessarily fatal mission, and hums as he disappears a folk-song about a nightingale. One of the onlookers breaks the silence by remarking, *Vot kak russkie lyudi na smert idoot* ("Look, that's how Russians go out to die"). I remember also a letter which came into the Russian Press recently, written by a young Kazakh officer. He was proud of the fact that he, the son of a peasant, had been to a Soviet University, and had read Pushkin, Goethe, Shakespeare. But the main thing that he said was that he wanted to win the war because he felt himself part of a living thing, and he wanted to live ("*Ya hochu zhit*".)

History and these few pointers go to make up a long story. . . .

“What are the facts?”

One goes round a British factory, and one of the shop-stewards asks expectantly: “Well, now . . . you’ve been to Russia. What are the real facts?”

There can be several answers to this. Some such questioners are not in fact asking for reality, but for opinions. My own answer has sometimes been, “Do you know where the largest ironworks in the world are? No? Well, the Tata mills in India are probably the largest single works. Do you know in which country you get the largest wheat yields per acre?—No, not the Ukraine. In Scotland.”

I have only mentioned these facts in reply just to show that reality often upsets our ideas. Also to show that it is useful to have the correct facts about one’s own people before asking for the “real” ones of others. There is so much that is large and to be wondered at in the Soviet Union that there is no point in seeking for absolutes, for “the largest,” “the greatest,” etc. It is a good plan, however, to look at some of the facts about the peoples of the Soviet Union and ourselves side by side.

There are about 190 million Soviet citizens, compared with a little more than 500 million British, including some 390 million Indians. Of the Soviet citizens, seventy per cent. live in the Russian S.F.S.R., which includes European Russia and Siberia. Of the 190 million people, four in every five live in Europe—which disproves to some extent the suggestion which has been made that “the Russians are really Asiatics.” Actually, three in every five belong to the Caucasian or white race. The fact is that the Soviet Union is a white and yellow group of peoples. The leading partner among the white section has with the aid of a Byzantine background and some more material gains from European civilization, together with his own skill and military prowess, moved eastward and assumed control of the yellow group; later modifying this to a partnership. Previously various sections of the yellow group had fought their way westward into areas held by the white group, but each invader had finally become submerged or had retreated.

Thus a racial map of the Soviet Union is a study in the survival of peoples. It consists mainly of the deposits of successive waves of migration; but accompanying this is also the question of survival of peoples against the forces of nature. In some regions such as the Caucasus and the Central Asian mountain areas the one question predominates; in some, such as northern Russia and Siberia, the other is more important. There are altogether 180 different nationalities and clans in the Soviet Union, speaking some 150 languages and dialects. Their distribution is fairly simple (Russians in Russia, Ukrainians in the Ukraine mainly), with two distinct areas of many nationalities living close upon each other; the Caucasus and Central Asia.

A rough estimate of the population by regions when the Soviet Union was attacked is as follows:

Russian S.F.S.R....	...	...	...	...	...	more than 112,000,000
Areas formerly included in Poland	...	...	...	...	...	13,000,000
Areas formerly included in Finland	...	...	...	...	...	500,000
Areas formerly included in Roumania (Bessarabia and Bucovina)	...	...	...	...	...	3,500,000
Estonia	...	...	...	...	...	1,200,000
Latvia	...	...	...	...	...	2,000,000
Lithuania	...	...	...	...	...	3,000,000

Ukraine	more than	32,000,000
Armenia	1,300,000	
Azerbaijan	3,200,000	
Georgia	3,750,000	
Turkmenistan	1,250,000	
Uzbekistan	6,700,000	
Tajikistan	1,500,000	
Kirghizia	1,500,000	
Byelorussia (White Russia)	5,800,000	

Out of this total by far the greater number were Great Russians (perhaps 90,000,000), Ukrainians (perhaps 33,000,000), and Byelorussians or White Russians (perhaps 8,000,000), so that together the leading Slav races in the Soviet Union outnumber the others by over two to one.

We perhaps forget that there are just as many varieties of nationality in the British Commonwealth, from the natives of mixed descent in Mauritius to the Eskimos of Canada. The main difference in our case is that the British 'senior partners' are in a minority, and that in fact the citizens of the Commonwealth are predominantly brown. In 1931 the white population of the Commonwealth was estimated at 70,000,000, largely British and Irish but including some French, Dutch, and Spanish. The races of India and Ceylon numbered 390,000,000 and others in the Commonwealth were 40,000,000 Negroes, 6,000,000 Arabs, 6,000,000 Malays, 1,000,000 Chinese, 1,000,000 Polynesians, and many others, including 100,000 "Red Indians" in Canada. Points in common between us and the Soviet Union include the range of races who are at varying levels of development. Our own we might imagine as ranging from Ottawa or Westminster, or the more comfortable suburbs of Manchester to the Bushmen of South Africa, or the aborigines of the Australian Northern Territories. In the Soviet Union there is a wide gulf which is being bridged between the Leningrad intellectual, the inheritor of the tradition of Peter's "window on to Europe," and the nomads on the Steppes below the Altai range, or the Nenets of Northern Siberia.

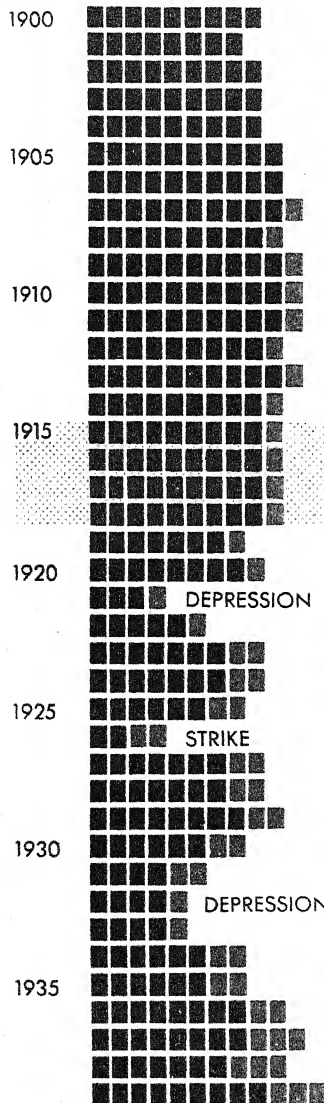
In the past ten years millions of non-Russian citizens of the Soviet Union have learnt Russian, although they are entirely free to maintain their own regional culture. It is quite believable that within another twenty years a large majority of Soviet citizens will be bilingual, and have the power to express themselves in what, for its flexibility, subtleties of thought, and size of vocabulary, is one of the principal languages of the world.

When we come to religions, the pictures differ. The British Commonwealth has more Mohammedans than Christians (one hundred compared with eighty millions), and of the Christians four out of every five are non-Roman Catholics. Only in England is there a State Church, and in most places Anglicans and Romans exist side by side, with the Roman Catholics in a majority in some places, such as Malta and Mauritius, and forming the largest minority in others, such as Canada.

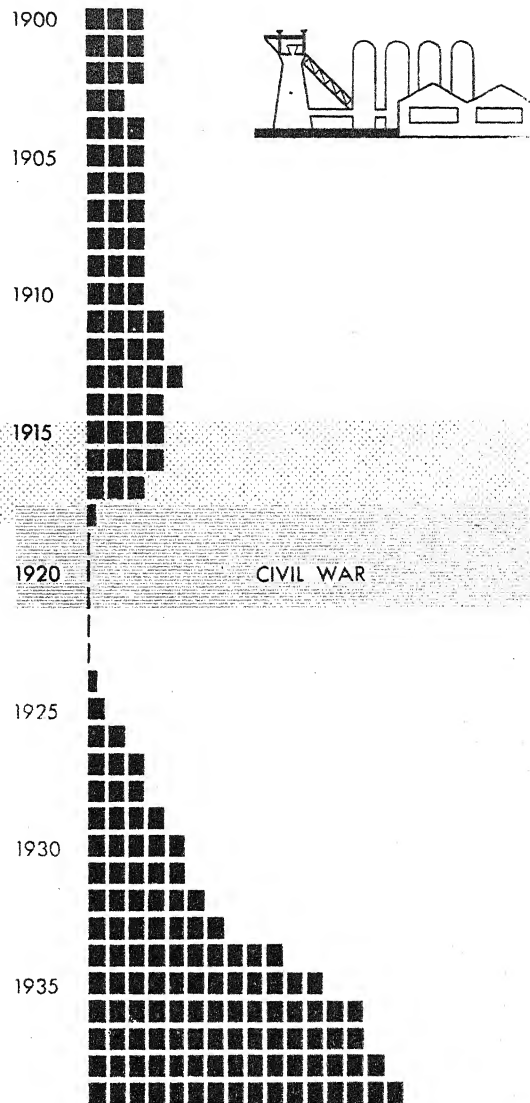
This is a typical outcome of our history—religious tolerance developed early among us compared with most other countries. Heads fell and bodies burned mainly among our ecclesiastics rather than the laity in the sixteenth-century Reformation, and our Revolution in the seventeenth century was an economic as well as a religious struggle,

Pig-iron Production

Great Britain
and British dependencies



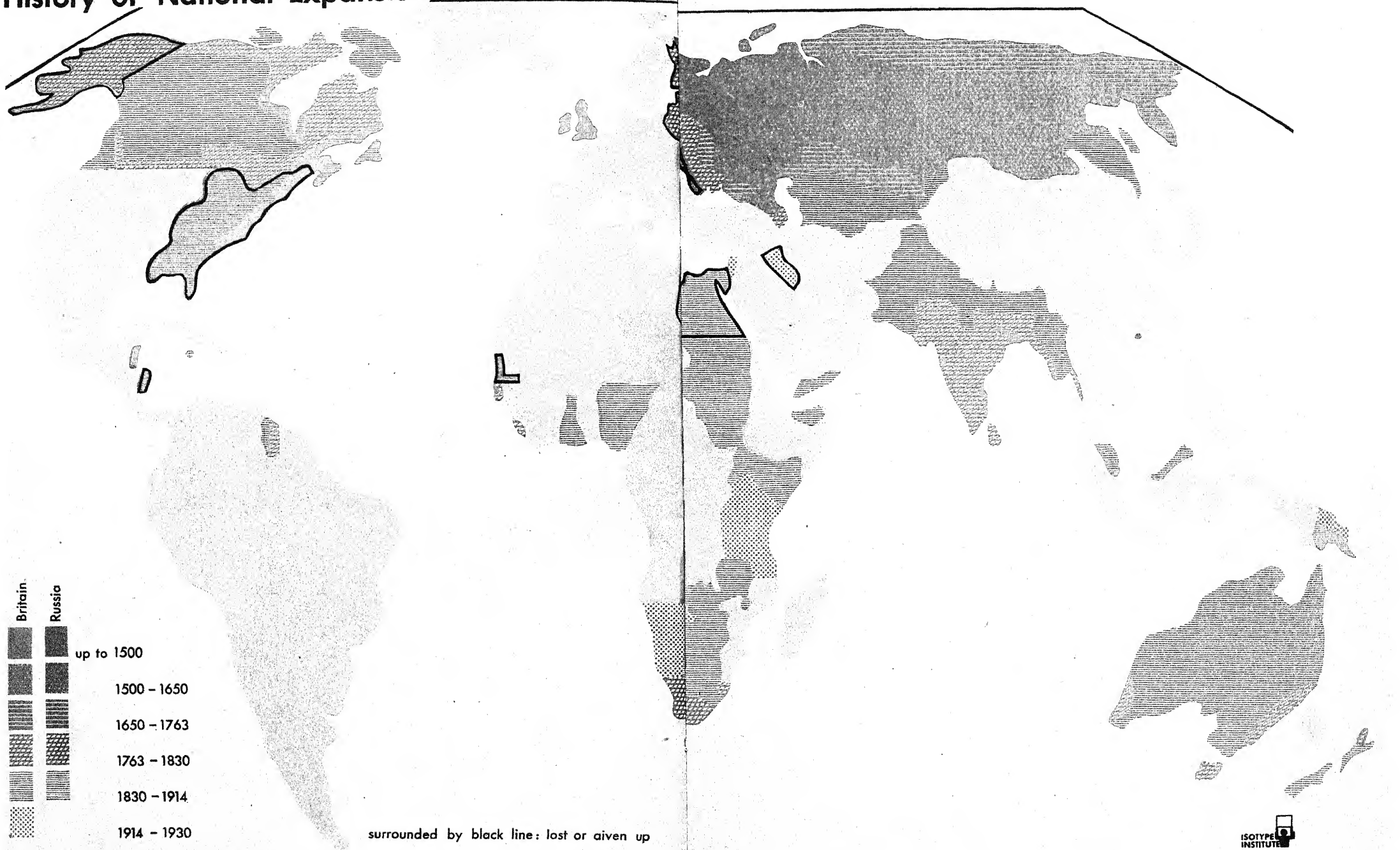
Russia (Soviet Union)



Each unit represents 1 million tons blue British dependencies

A reliable measure of the growth and variation of industrial power. Compare the steady expansion of Soviet production since 1920 with the fluctuations of the British production, and note the growing importance of British production outside Britain.

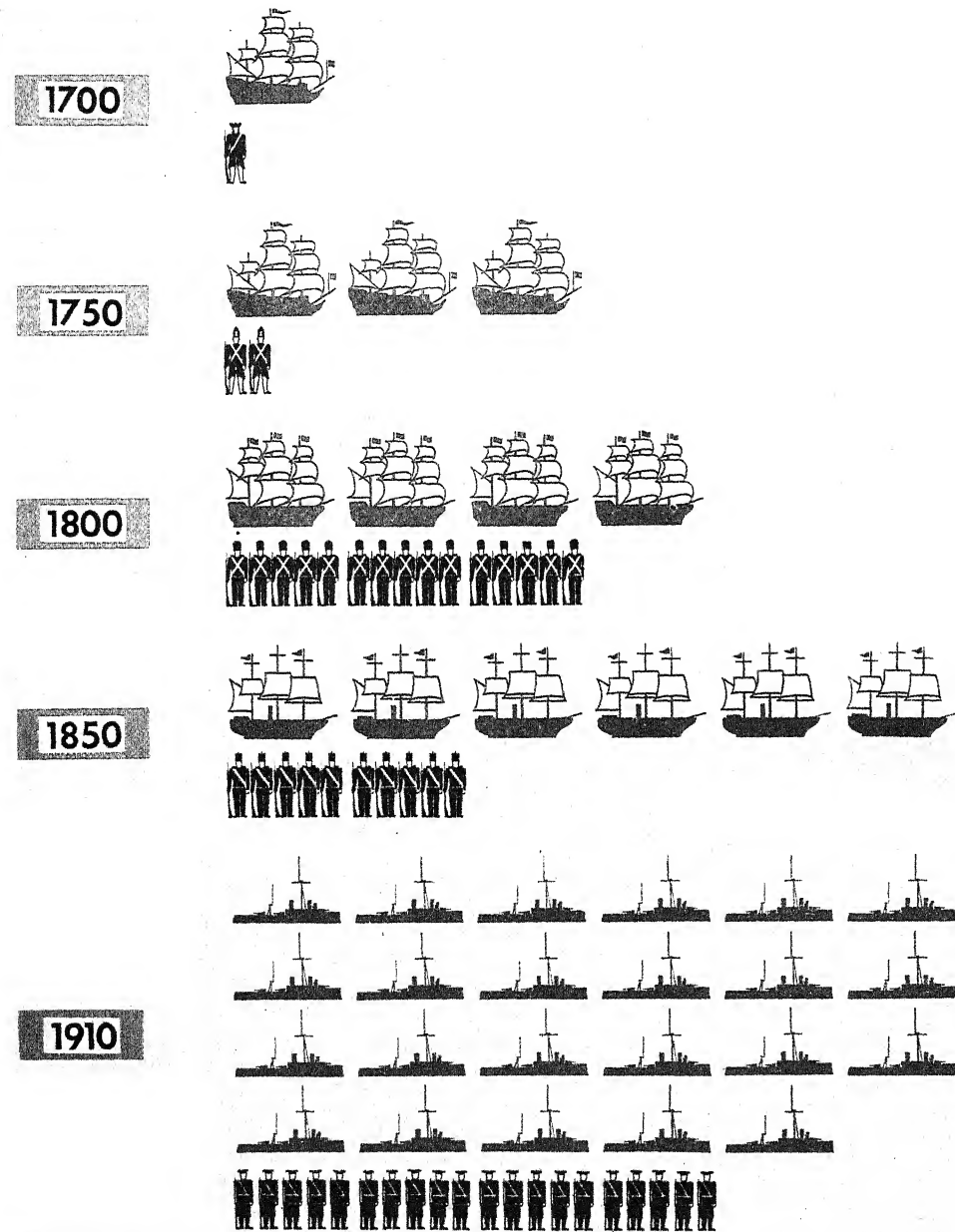
History of National Expansion



Russia expanded by land, outward to a coastline ; Britain by sea, from coastlines inward. The Russian expansion was the earlier.

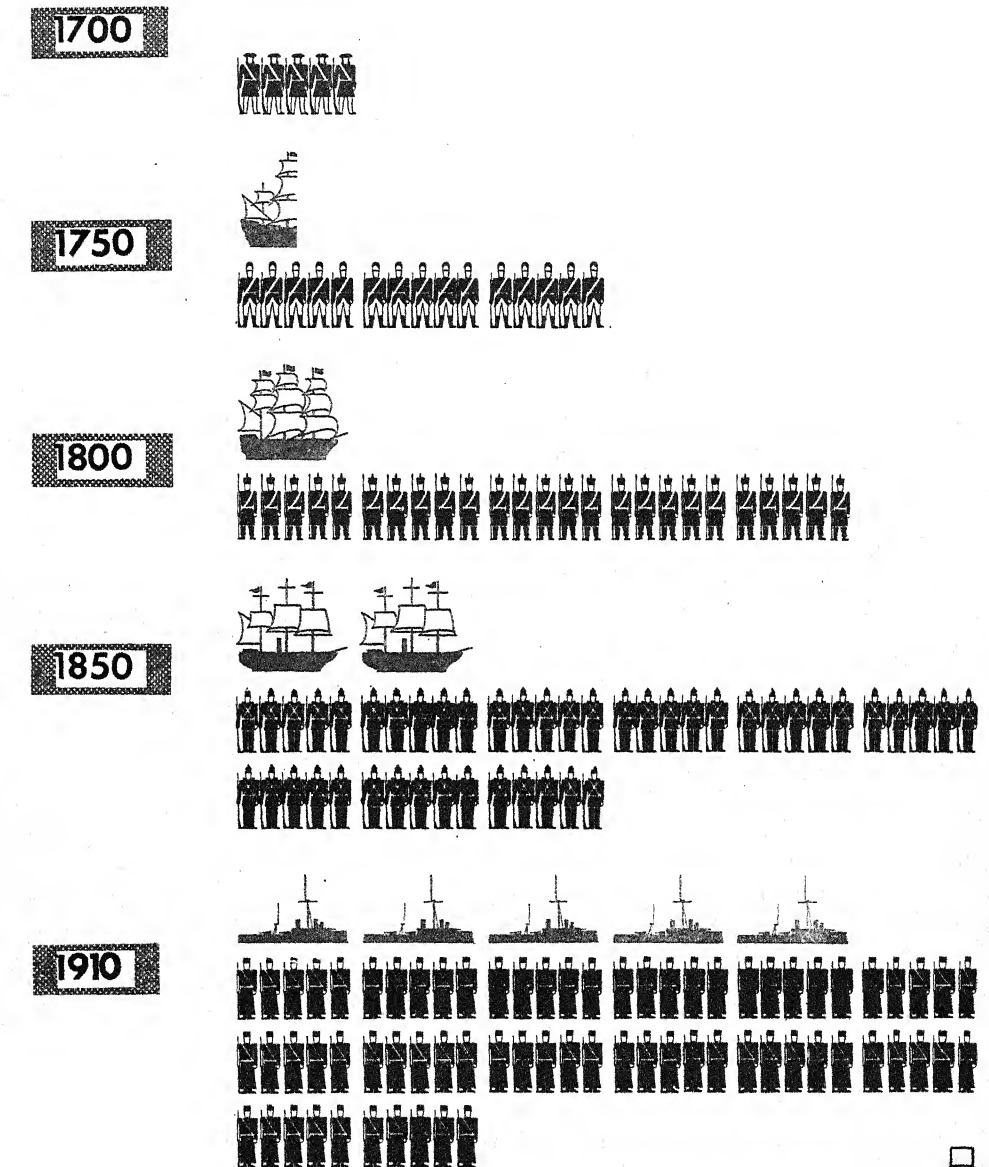


British Navy and Army



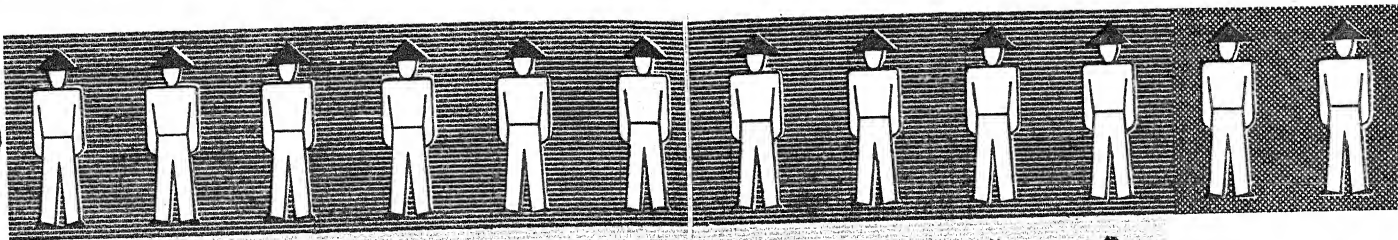
Each blue symbol represents 100,000 tons Each brown symbol represents 20,000 men
 Britain's sea-power and Russia's land-power are complementary.

Russian Army and Navy



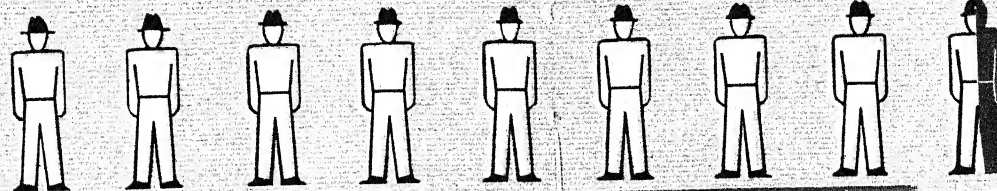
Mankind: Colour and Religion

Chinese Religions

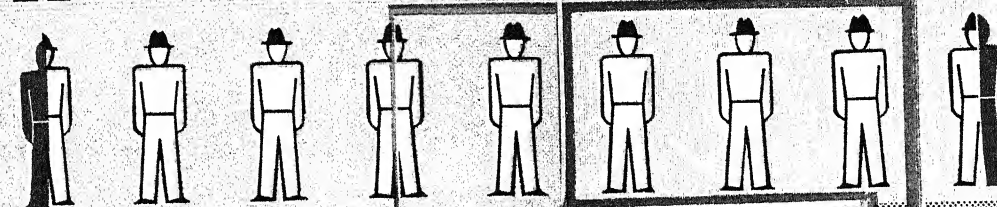


Japanese Religions

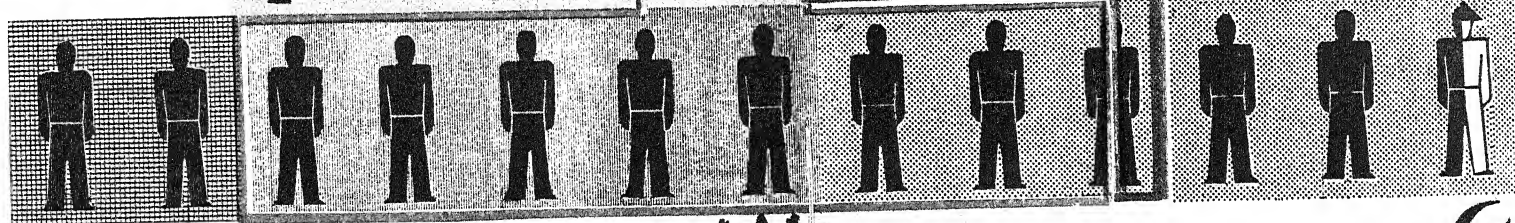
Roman Catholic Church



Anglican, Lutheran and other Protestant Churches



Orthodox, Coptic and other Churches



Animists, etc.



Hindus



Moslems



Each symbol represents 50 million population
black outline: Whites and Red Indians
brown outline: Chinese, Japanese, Burmese etc.
full brown: others

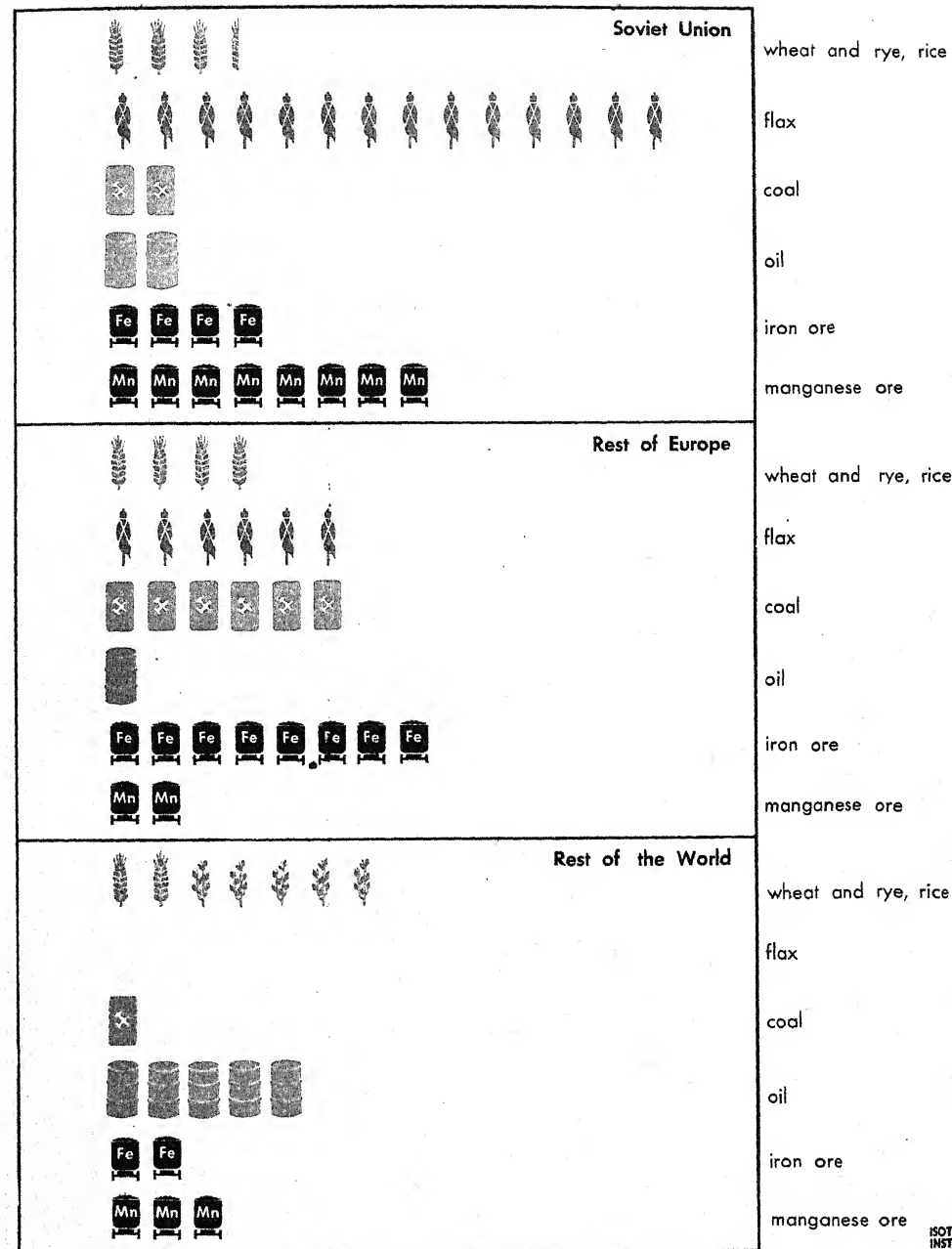
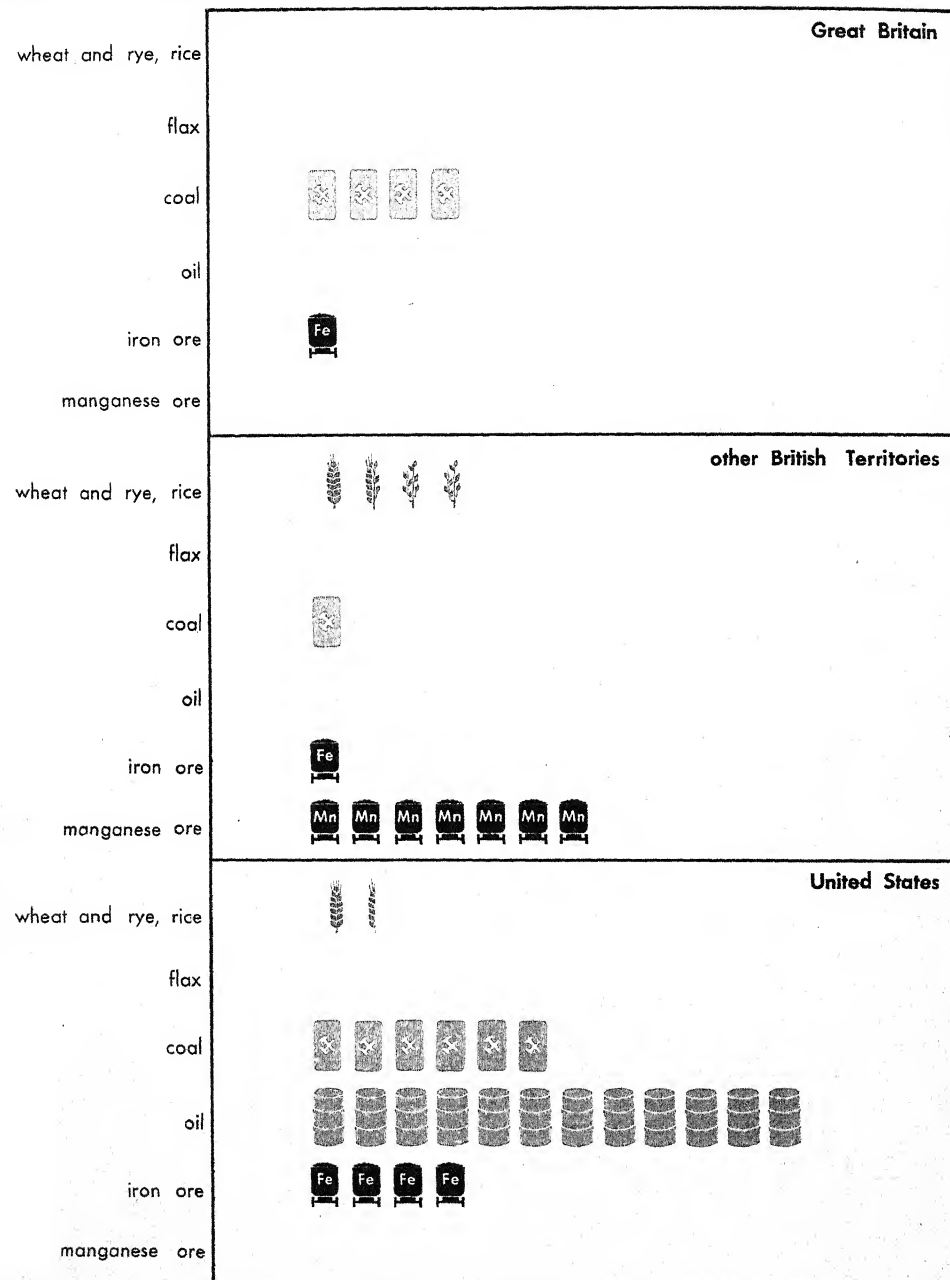
grey screens: Christian Churches
blue screens: other religions
surrounded by red line: British
surrounded by green line: Soviet Union

ISOTYPE INSTITUTE

The citizens of the Soviet Union are overwhelmingly a white population, belonging mainly to the Christian tradition. Those of the British Commonwealth are overwhelmingly brown and mainly non-Christian. The two countries between them contain half the Moslems of the world.

World Production

















Each symbol represents 5 per cent. of world production in 1938



Soviet production is increasing steadily ; note how many of the symbols for each

commodity are contained within the Soviet section of this world-chart.




Britain Conquest of Nature

	Wolves	Plague	Fire; Inundations
1550			
1600			
			
			
1700			
			
			
			
			
			
			

1800

1900

Science and Art

Scientists	Writers	Composers
		
		Tallis
	Shakespeare	W. Byrd
		Orlando Gibbons
Boyle ROYAL SOCIETY	Milton	Purcell
Newton		
	Dryden	
	Defoe Swift	
		Handel
ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA		
Priestley		
Davy	Wordsworth Byron Scott	
Faraday Sir W. R. Hamilton	Dickens Thackeray	
Darwin Kelvin		Sullivan
	Hardy Kipling Galsworthy Shaw	Elgar
Rutherford Bragg		Walter

Man must win the struggle with Nature before he can triumph in the realms of the mind.

Russia

Conquest of Nature

Science and Art

Scientists

Writers

Composers



Wolves

Plague

Fire;
Inundations

1550



1600



1700



Moscow



St Petersburg

1800



Tobolsk



St Petersburg
Riga



St Petersburg
Kiev

1900



Irkutsk

ACADEMY

Lobachevsky

Pushkin

Glinka

Lermontov
Gogol

Mendeleef
ENCYCLOPAEDIA

Turgenev
Dostoevski
Tolstoi

Borodin
Moussorgsky
Rimsky-
Korsakov

Chekov

Tschaikovsky

Timiryazev
Pavlov

Glazounov
Scriabine

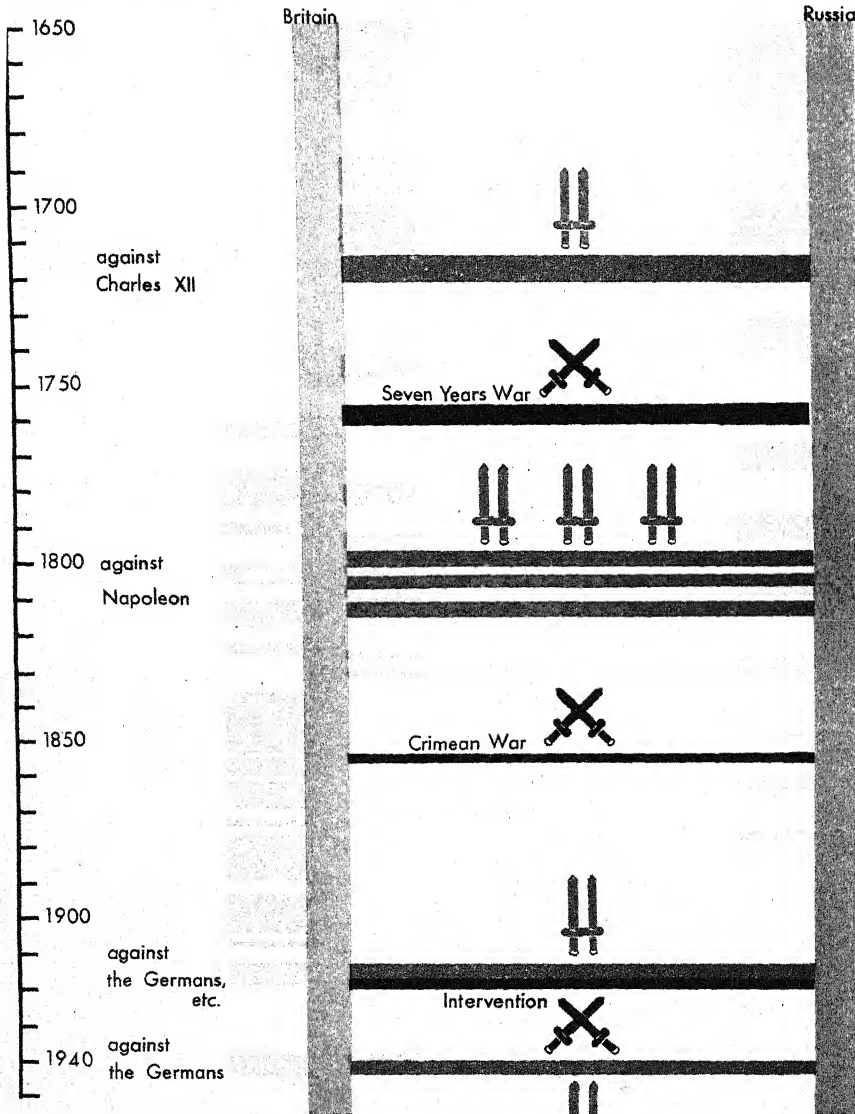
Gorky

Stravinsky

Kapitza

Shostakovitch

Alliances and Conflicts



blue: wars in which Britain and Russia were allies
 black: wars in which Britain and Russia were enemies
 grey: other wars
 directed towards centre: European wars
 directed outwards: wars and expeditions outside Europe
 black screen: state of war without hostilities

Comradeship in arms between Russia and Britain against would-be conquerors goes back to the eighteenth century. We are not proud of the wars in which we have been on opposite sides.



the gentry and middle classes beginning to demand their share in the control of the State, so as to secure their freedom of initiative in the developing life of society. We had no devastating Thirty Years War over religion, nor a century drag upon progress through religious feuds such as the French endured in the seventeenth century. In the Soviet Union the Orthodox Church is by far the largest denomination. Church and State were closely identified in Russia for many centuries. The restoration in 1943 of the Patriarchate, the Holy Synod, and of means of negotiation between the State and the Church, although in its exact form a new situation, is in keeping with the past of the Church.

I have mentioned earlier the strength in the Orthodox Church of the underlying belief in the "Community of all faithful people." This was declared by Nikolai Berdyaev, the great Orthodox theologian in Paris, to be one of the reasons why the Communist State, functioning on the basis of the common experience and jointly endured hardships of the people, managed to continue against great hazards in its early years. I have seen a number of Orthodox services in Soviet Russia and churches which functioned in quite a number of villages. Unquestionably a large percentage of those who are believers are among the higher age-groups of the population. But the estimate of the "Old Bolshevik," the late Monsieur Yaroslavsky, in 1939 was that one person in three in the towns, and two in every three in the villages, were still believers. Quite apart from the early attitude of the Communist leaders to the clergy, one of the factors making for the closing of churches as places of worship in many villages was the need for the State, having assumed new responsibilities for the education, health, and recreation of its children and grown-ups, to use what was frequently the only building in the community larger than a cottage or shed.

There are also many Moslems, almost entirely in Soviet Asia, distributed chiefly among the Uzbeks, Turkmens, Kazakhs, and Tajiks. In 1943 they elected a Grand Mufti. Baptists have existed for many years in Russia, and formerly had many links with the large Baptist Church of the United States. They possessed a mentality rather like that of French Protestants—*i.e.*, nationalistic but somewhat critical—and have always been regarded with suspicion both by the State and the Orthodox Church. The fact is that the Russians are by nature a religious people. They have a need to believe, either in a faith, or a mystique, or a social creed. If their church-going has decreased since the Revolution as it has in the same period in Britain (now about a quarter of our population only are regular churchgoers), nevertheless the reaction of the Russians to a number of the religious feelings has certainly not become blunted. If awe is a religious emotion, if hospitality is prompted by something more than a desire for gain, and if patience is recognized among Christians as a quality—then the Russians have these in large measure.

It is perhaps also useful to mention the attention paid in recent years in the internal propaganda of the Soviet State to the qualities of sobriety, loyalty, and respect for women. A Soviet weekly, for instance, about Easter-time 1941 carried on two successive weeks a banner headline of the old motto which used to be found in the copy-books of pre-Revolutionary girls' schools—"Modesty was, is, and always will be the first adornment of a true woman." Sex-shows are frowned on, and, as with an official in England, a public divorce is a grave handicap to the career of any rising member of the Russian Communist party and a step which he normally will not take. This

is in keeping with the announced reconstruction policy of the Soviet Government of maintaining or establishing as large as possible a number of "stable homes." Although it is difficult to generalize about races, it is true to say that many Russians are mild and simple, and given to working in bursts—characteristics which have on occasion been mentioned by Stalin. Many are capable of harshness and brutality, or of an extreme realism of thought; but in general they are not mechanistic. Until recently they were almost exclusively agricultural folk.

Eighty per cent. of the population of the Russian Empire worked on the land at the beginning of this century, and of those in the towns many were engaged in trade in agricultural produce. In 1913 60 per cent. of the total production of the Empire was from agriculture, and 40 per cent. from industry.

The ten years before the Revolution saw the beginnings of a change, and after the Revolution the percentage of town-dwellers rose rapidly. The aim of the Soviet Government was to reach 6.5 million skilled workers by the end of the First Five Year Plan in 1932, and by the time of the German attack in the summer of 1941 the intake into the occupational schools which train boys and girls for industry was nearly a million pupils yearly.

The ratio of country- to town-dwellers is now roughly 75 : 25, which means that three out of every four Russians are still connected with farming or its associate industries. The Revolution swept the people into towns, into old ones and new ones. Industry demanded hands, and millions were moved to the site of new industry. Sometimes industry even preceded the homes, and factories were established with the workers camping around them, as occurred at Komsomolsk, in the Far East, largely erected by youth. On the other hand, the population of Britain became chiefly urban at a much earlier date. The population of the Dominions consists also to a very large extent of townspeople—over five in every ten in Canada, while in Australia three out of the total seven millions of the population are congregated in only four of the largest cities, Sidney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Brisbane. Only in India and a number of the colonies is a majority of the population rural.

Owing to the general fall in their birth rates during this century the percentage of population in the higher age groups in Britain and the Dominions is heavy. These percentages have been increased by the steady drop in the death rate. Following is a brief table of the number of additional years of life, which, on the basis of averages, a human being can expect in the Soviet Union, Britain, the Dominions, and the United States at birth or at twenty, forty, or sixty years of age:

<i>Country</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Twenty</i>	<i>Forty</i>	<i>Sixty</i>
European Russia	42	43	28	15
England & Wales	60	47	29½	14
Canada	59	49	31½	16
Australia	63½	49	31	15½
United States	61	46½	29½	14½

The Russian figures are estimates only, on the basis of conditions in 1927, shortly after the Revolution and famine period. By 1941 they would have had to be modified considerably—at least in the younger age groups. In the Soviet Union the population has leapt ahead in the past fifteen years, a 44 per cent. increase having been registered

in the ten years up to 1939, though this is perhaps also an indication of inaccuracy in previous censuses. What is certain is that the percentage of the population under thirty-five is very large, well over half the total. It is necessary to remember that all these millions of people under thirty-five have no knowledge of any other than the Soviet system, and many others up to the age of forty also have been mainly formed in the new atmosphere of the post-revolutionary period. Very few of them have ever been abroad ; very few of them have ever met a foreigner ; few of them can imagine what life is like in a country where the education is not entirely given by the State, the factories in the hands of the State, and most of the farming co-operatively run on State-owned lines. This is the position in 1944.

In the Soviet Union the birth rate is high, and the death rate, though high, is falling. In 1939 the birth and death rates were respectively 44.1 and 20.2 compared with Britain's 15 and 12. Britain's birth rate has since risen during the war. The corresponding figures for Canada were 20.2 and 9.8 ; for Australia 17.2 and 9.6 ; for South Africa 24.8 and 9.8 ; New Zealand 17.4 and 9 ; for the United States 17.1 and 11. The infant death rate in the Soviet Union was 173 compared with Canada's 70, Britain's 57, and New Zealand's 32, which is the lowest for any country in the world. Although not rising as rapidly as that of the Soviet Union, the populations of the British Dominions are increasing steadily. The important point is that they and Britain have a high percentage of skilled personnel, which has shown its worth in enabling us drastically to convert our economies from those of peace to war.

There are in the world just over a hundred cities with populations of more than half a million each. Of them 15 are in the British Commonwealth, 14 in the United States, and 11 in the Soviet Union. A number of these have reached this size in the Soviet Union since the revolution, including Kiev, Kharkov, and Gor'ki. Something like a hundred new towns, each with a population of more than 100,000 have been established, but there is still a terrible problem of overcrowding in the older cities through the influx of many additional industrial workers.

It will be impossible in this book to describe in any detail all the distinctive features and colour of the different peoples of the Soviet Union. It is more important to realize that they are a group of peoples, largely Slav, rapidly expanding, and—through their industrialization at a high speed—creating possibilities of further increases in their numbers, which before they were attacked were rising by three million a year, or the present population of Eire. A high proportion of them are young, and destined to live out this century, with better opportunities for education and for acquiring skill than ever they had in the past. To reach their present state many of them have gone through Revolution, famine, discomfort, migration, and finally the bitterest war in many centuries.

On our side it can be said that the Commonwealth is headed by a group of peoples who in easier natural conditions won greater comfort at an earlier date, and who have accepted vast responsibilities for less developed peoples. Nevertheless our ways of life have been subjected to the heaviest strains in the past few years, and under the impact of war have in some material ways radically changed.

More Facts

Two facts stand out regarding the Soviet peoples and ourselves. Firstly, the British peoples, after having been completely forced from the territory of Europe, and all their Allies overrun, did not even entertain the idea of treating with the enemy. Twenty months later, with our Eastern Empire gone, and the Japanese at the gates of Australia, the British Government was calmly preparing its offensives by which it intended to win. The explanation of this calm lies in Britain's tradition as a world Power, the poise of her peoples, and the economic potential of the Commonwealth. Secondly, the Soviet peoples after twenty-five years of a Communist regime have repelled the land might of Germany, which had brought the enemy to the gates of Moscow, to the Volga and the shores of the Caspian Sea. The explanation of this spectacle lies in the tradition of Russia, as a single monolithic power, the determination of the Soviet regime, and the economic potential of the Union.

The Soviet peoples have endured so much in order to create so much, that their achievement had automatically to be defended. The destruction of much that they had built is one of the greatest causes of bitterness of the Russians against the German armies. The people, who had enjoyed a national lottery on the amount of cement which would be laid each day in the building of the great Dnieper Dam, could be told only slowly by their Government that it had been necessary to destroy it before the invader. The Ukraine, White Russia, and Leningrad regions, seized by the Germans, meant to the Russians the equivalent of the loss of a man's two arms or an arm and a leg. However much the industries of the Urals and Siberia might be expanded, there could be no substitute for these regions. The Donetz Basin, for example, before the war produced over 50 per cent. of all the coal mined in the Soviet Union. Nearly 80 per cent. of the acreage in the south and centre of these regions, and 60 per cent. in the north was farm land which used to yield two-thirds of the Soviet Union's winter wheat, 10 per cent. of its summer wheat, half its maize, and most of its sugar beet. The Soviet State had had a great deal to hand, and had used it—iron, coal, aluminium, oils, spirit of high-octane grade, the sources of electric power, and food from a scientific agriculture. A young, new generation of scientists, with their inquiring minds in many ways akin to those of the young Englishmen of to-day, had been produced by older professors, on a basis of the learning and skill of their race. Immense changes have also been occurring in the economy of the British Commonwealth, but as its units are separated, and there is no central planning body such as the Soviet GOSPLAN organization, and no unified institution of information, we are not really aware to what all these separate changes amount. There have been administrative and financial changes, and in the Dominions and India there has recently been an immense growth of industry with its resultant effects on society. Many of these changes—even material ones such as the world's longest bridge over the Lower Zambesi river, the £10,000,000 bridge over the harbour of Sydney, N.S.W., the rebuilt Welland Canal in Canada with its total cost of £21,000,000, the Ontario Hydro-electric Power Service supplying nearly three million people, or the Government irrigation in India of one and a half times the war-time cultivated area of Britain—have occurred almost unnoticed except by those close to them. The steel output of Canada doubled during the war, and that of Australia is increasing very rapidly.

The aircraft and motor-car industries of both these Dominions are together enormous. It may take some years before we appreciate what actually has occurred.

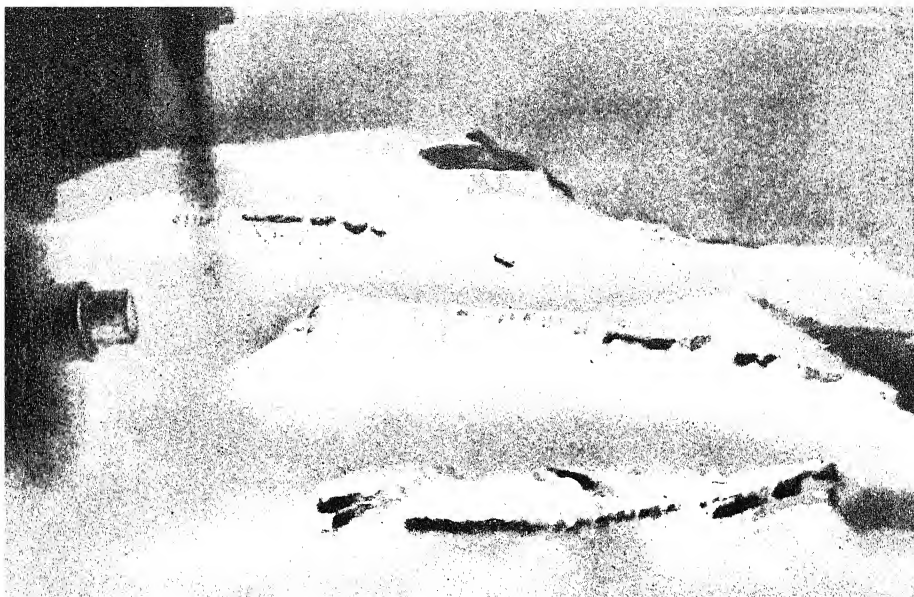
The Russian, on the other hand, has constantly had a picture of the changes in his land held up to him throughout the past twenty-five years. While the great engineering and industrial feats, such as the building of the Dnieper dam, of the Kharkov tractor factory, the Magnitogorsk blast furnaces, or the White Sea Canal, have been chiefly held up to him, agriculture has been, and still is, necessarily the basis of the Russian's life.

The introduction of machinery into the Russian village, and the grouping of the peasants together into collective farms have caused great changes in Soviet farming. While the war has brought great difficulties in the supply of spare parts for tractors and all kinds of machinery, and has meant in some places much more handwork in the fields, it has in others given an added fillip to the changes which had been brought about since the Revolution, such as extension of the area under hardy wheat and other cereals in Siberia, the growing of cotton in Central Asia; and the production of industrial crops such as the latex-bearing *kok saghyz*, from which a useful yield of rubber is obtained.

This great effort made to provide the Red Army and the mass of the population with an essential supply of food, even after the loss of the Ukraine, needs to be viewed against the background of the historic division on a regional basis of the crops of this land mass. The sea is open to him who can master it, and across it food can be brought, even if with difficulty, but the land is always an autocrat, and will yield according to its habits, aided and abetted by climate.

From this point of view the Soviet Union can be divided into four belts, the extreme north, north central, south central, and south. In the first, throughout the winter there is either no light or only a few hours of twilight each day. In the short summer there is light up to twenty-four hours of the day, even to perpetual light for three months. There is little cultivable soil other than in the neighbourhood of the large rivers. These flow into the Arctic Ocean, and in spring thaw from south to north, with the result that they flood immense areas. Over a frozen subsoil the floods dry out, to be followed by swarms of mosquitoes, and in the southern part of this belt considerable heat. The Yakuts of north-eastern Siberia even cut their hay at night to avoid the heat of the summer sun.

Much experimental work has, however, been done in the far north in the past twenty years in trying to produce hardy, fast-ripening crops in the types of soil available. A start was made at the Khibinsk Research Station by the side of Lake Imandra, on the Kola Peninsula beyond the Arctic Circle. Professor Eichfeld's experiments in draining and irrigating the swampy land, feeding it with powdered apatite, and producing an average of 3 tons per acre of hardy types of rye, oats, or barley, or 20 tons of potatoes, have been of great value to farmers in northern parts of the Soviet Union and the world. The Khibinsk Station has a reputation similar to that of our own Rothamsted Institute, which is known among agricultural scientists wherever crops are grown. The population of this northern belt, apart from the large congregations of the northern ports, Murmansk, Archangel (300,000), and Igarka, the timber port near the mouth of the River Ob, is very small, and is spread out over some thousands of miles of tundra and stunted forest.



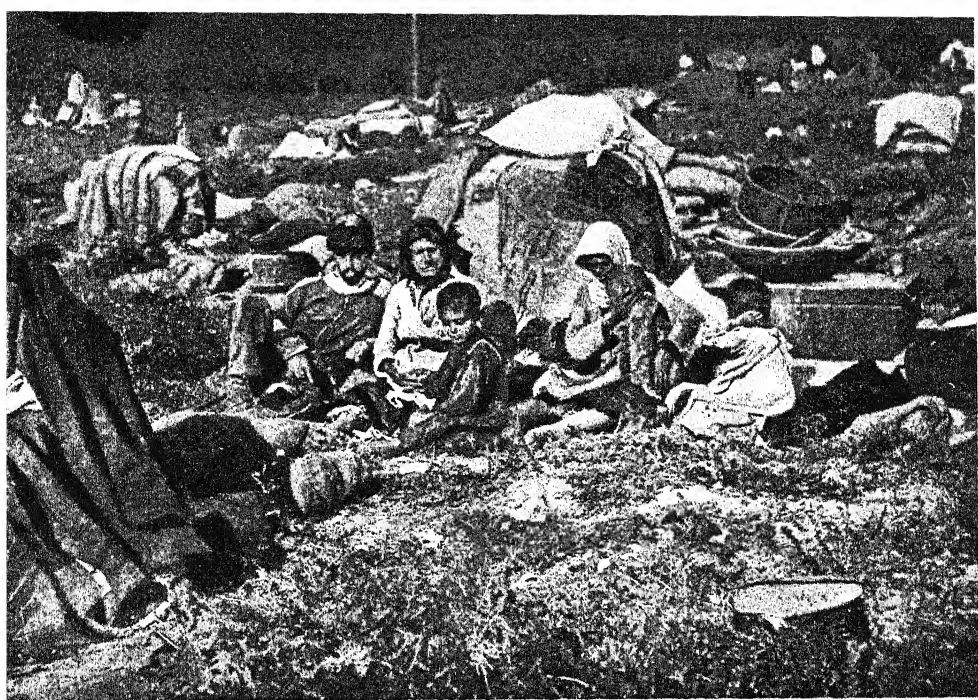
In 1937, after sending scientists to camp at the North Pole, the U.S.S.R. annexed certain Polar regions. Planes over Franz Josef Land en route for the expedition on the drifting ice.

In the second or north central belt there are still vast tracts of forest, but towards the west of the European region the cleared areas gradually supersede the forest, giving space for the rye and potato crops of the Moscow region and the flax belt south and west of Leningrad. Mixed farming, with a fair quantity of local fodder, is also carried on, particularly in the southern parts of this belt in European Russia. In Siberia the scene is still dominated by the great forest stretching eastward for a distance of 4000 miles, with a depth of some 600 miles. Nearly a quarter of the world's timber is congregated here. Cutting and milling has been developed during the past twenty years, but the great problem is still to get the timber to more developed regions. As the double-track Trans-Siberian railway in the south is the only land communication, the wood has mainly to be floated north by the great rivers, and shipped via the Arctic Ocean to the west. Much of this territory will be opened up when, after the war, the Russians can take up their plan to build the great Northern railway route across the continent. The growing of crops is already being steadily pushed northward from the central Siberian regions by means of Spring planting of seedlings of hardy types. The north central section of European Russia has for centuries carried a large population, despite the poverty of its soils, because it was able to import from the richer lands to the south. It is a striking fact that 'inhabited points' of this region are much more closely placed than in some of the more fertile belts of the Ukraine, where the historical practice was large-scale farming.



Especially since the Second World War began, British Africa is being opened up rapidly. Native labourers lay concrete on a 200-mile road in Tanganyika near the equator.

The wooded Steppe of the third or south-central belt stretching from Poland to Lake Baikal and beyond, merges into the black earth belt and the true Steppe, which is simply open country with a long sweep and few trees, and broken here and there by a broad, shallow gully, the bed of a former river. The famous Black Earth belt, in which large quantities of wheat are grown, stretches from the southern Ukraine, where it touches the Black Sea in the neighbourhood of Odessa and Nikolayev, north-eastward across the Dnieper, the Volga, passes beyond the Urals and eastward into Siberia, between Sverdlovsk and Magnitogorsk, and finally curls southward towards Semipalatinsk, a total distance of some 2250 miles. The chief obstacle to the full utilization of this rich Black Earth belt is the somewhat inadequate rainfall, or its uneven fall throughout the year. But given sufficient rain at the right time this land yields bumper crops, and for this reason the Ukraine, before the Revolution, was one of the chief wheat-exporting regions of the world. Since the Revolution the grain has been used largely to feed the growing industrial population. In this south central belt in Siberia through which runs the Trans-Siberian railway, much summer wheat, oats, millet, flax, hemp, and sunflower is grown, and the region has surpluses of wheat, as well as of butter and eggs. During the war, following the loss of the Ukraine, there was an immense expansion of the sown area of this region of Western Siberia. The increase, for example, in 1942 in that part of the belt which comes within the province of Kazakhstan was larger than the total wheat area of the United



One of the natural disasters which for centuries periodically struck Russia was famine. Starving peasants near Novorossisk before collective farming had become established.

Kingdom before the war. The largest flour mill of the Soviet Union stands not in the Ukraine but at Karaganda, in the eastern part of the Kazakhstan steppe, among the pitheads of a rich new coalfield.

The south central belt of the Union is also the region of sugar-beet. In the north-western Ukraine, where the larger part of Russia's sugar is grown, there are many factories for refining the sugar on the spot, some existing from before the Revolution. This crop is raised in the same belt in Western Siberia, and in Eastern Siberia it is one of the few crops accepted by the poor soils.

In European Russia this belt is the breeding-ground of most of the best horses. The Orel, Kursk, and Don pastures, with their richer grass, produce the Orlov and Cossack types, and the cold winters allow of no softening of the strains. Farther east in Kazakhstan there are sturdy plain horses, and beyond, below the Altai, there are some good strains, some noble, while still farther in the same belt breeds the little Mongol pony, a chop-nosed type as hardy as the climate is extreme.

The last belt, the south, is a broken strip—from the Crimea to the Caucasus and Transcaucasia, and the Central Asian Republics beyond the Caspian. Apart from a small area where the western Caucasus rises above the Black Sea, the rainfall of this belt is slight to nil. It is the region of fruit and vineyards, of some rice in Kazakhstan, of tea on the hillsides, and of one and a half million acres of cotton in the Central Asian

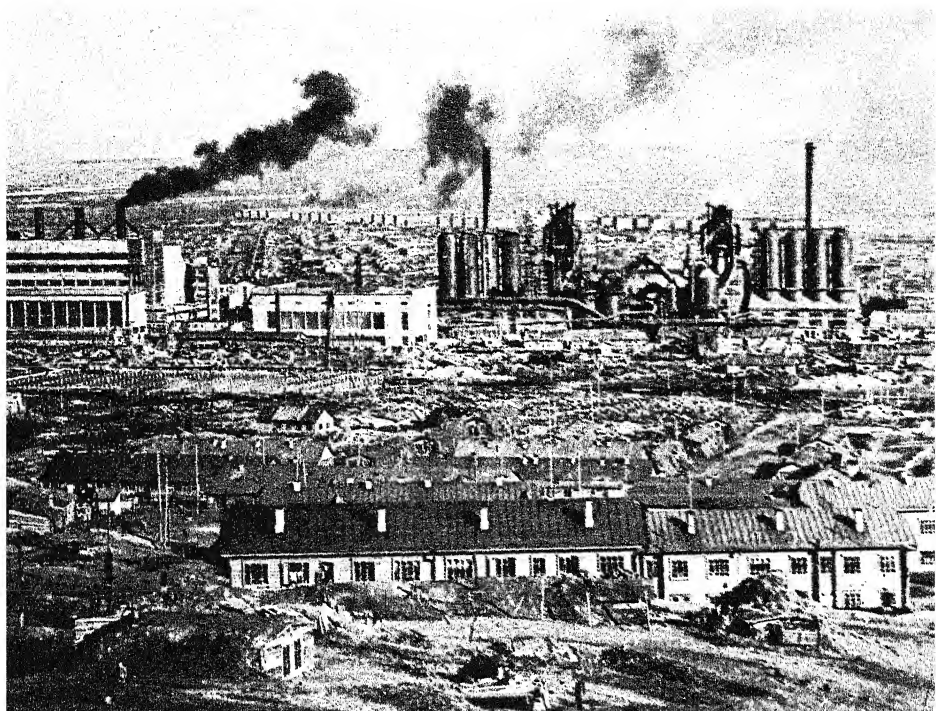


Survivors from a torpedoed British vessel watch her go under. Shipwreck, whether natural or man-made, is the disaster with which Britain has had specially to contend.

republics. It is the region of the Hunger Steppe beyond the Caspian, and of sheep throughout the southern border republics.

Although with its range of climates and soils all useful crops, fruits, and vegetables can be grown in the Soviet Union, nevertheless there are some provinces, such as Eastern Siberia, parts of Central Asia, and northern Russia, which are historically not self-supporting. Others such as the Ukraine, the fertile Kuban districts north of the Caucasus, the middle Volga, and Western Siberia are normally surplus areas, and their produce has to be spread over the population, particularly the new millions in the towns. For this reason, when the Red Army had lost the Ukraine and the Kuban, the regions of the largest surpluses, the remainder of the Union was somewhat like Britain when faced with the possibility of being cut off from her Dominions.

The demands which this situation has made on the Middle Volga, Western Siberia, and Uzbekistan, have added another page to the eventful history of farming in the Soviet Union in the past twenty-five years. Collectivization, the introduction of tractors and combine-harvesters, the shifting of population, and the growing of new crops; experiments in pre-germination; large-scale use of artificial insemination of livestock; the calculation of payments according to the number of 'labour-days' worked in a year; the wiping out of the 'kulak' class of peasant proprietors, and the fluctuations in the system of small private plots of land held by the collective farmers—



Vast effort has gone into the building in a short time of the Soviet power base in the Urals and Western Siberia. Blast furnaces at Nadishdinski, in the Urals.

all these factors have brought to the farming folk of the Soviet Union more change in one generation than their forefathers had known, other than invasion, in many centuries. They were years of drastic change. The livestock population of the Union fell by two-thirds following the collectivization and the famine period of 1931. But the cattle and sheep were already rising above pre-Revolutionary figures once more by the time of the German invasion.

These were years also of some change in the diet of the people, at least in the towns, and that in the necessary direction of greater variety. Britain for many years had been used to importing various crops and fruits from almost the whole world. The Russian diet was and to a large extent still is one of health-giving staple foods. Black rye bread, rather salt and moist, but most nutritious, still predominates over wholemeal and white bread. Potatoes are another staple item, vying with *kasha* (boiled millet), which is usually served as a vegetable with meat. Add to these foods salted herring, cabbage soup, and macaroni served in vegetable oils, and one has covered most of the range of Russian day-to-day diet. This despite the great improvement in Soviet canning methods from 1935 onward, and although many Soviet mothers had begun to respond to the propaganda of their Government and Communist Party officials to give fish oils and orange-juice to their children.



Before the Japanese assault, planes flying over stretches of unexplored mountain supplied British gold-mines in New Guinea with equipment.

The Government had the problem of three million additional mouths to feed every year, quite apart from the other millions who had flocked from the land into industry. This problem was increased by the war, because agriculture depends for its success on distribution of food. Thus, although the situation in many of the villages was satisfactory, in towns not far distant the rationing would be severe because rail and road transport had been diverted to the needs of the Army and war industries, and sledge transport was insufficient.

The railways of the Union increased between 1925 and 1940 from 46,000 to 55,000 miles, and still in this great country there were fewer miles of railway to take an enormous goods traffic than there were miles of navigable riverways.

Soviet Government planners had to decide in which ways the energies of its people were to be used. The needs of industry, agriculture, and defence came first. Thus while new railways have been built, there are many more which remain to be laid down in the future. Of the railway building which has been done, the laying of the double track of the Trans-Siberian artery, and the construction of the "Turk-Sib" line linking the Trans-Siberian and Central Asian lines by a 1500-mile route from Tashkent to Semipalatinsk, are the most important. Otherwise the greatly increased traffic has had to be borne by the existing railways with the aid of many additional



At Borodino, west of Moscow, Kutuzov crippled Napoleon's Grande Armée. Red Army men beneath the Kutuzov memorial after the recapture of Borodino from the Germans.

loops, and larger engines, and wagons.

This picture of the Soviet transport position might appear worse than is necessary. To correct it one should add that the greater part of the railways which do exist lie in the more densely populated areas such as those of Leningrad, Moscow, and the Donetz Basin. In the 135,000 square miles of south and west Russian territory liberated by the Red Army in the second half of 1943, there were 62.6 miles of railway for every thousand square miles, compared with the average of 64.4 throughout the United States. The strain on Soviet transport has also been taken up to some extent by the Government's policy of building up the economic self-sufficiency of various regions, so saving a proportion of the long railway hauls of food and goods. Regional self-sufficiency was one of the early schemes of the Revolutionary leaders, and when the Five Year Plans were commenced in 1928 steps were taken in that direction.

But it was during the Third Five Year Plan, which was interrupted by the German invasion, that this programme was really to advance rapidly.

Under these Five Year Plans, the greater part of Soviet industry has been constructed. It is a land-power's industry. The aim has been to base it on districts in which its materials were found, rather than on transport of these materials to arbitrarily chosen points. Naturally this is only a general statement; for it remains true, for example, that the foundries and furnaces of Magnitogorsk, among the iron deposits of the Urals, are fed by much coking-coal from Karaganda, six hundred miles east.

But the general statement is true, and is a reversal of the manner in which industry tended to develop until the Revolution. The early factories of Leningrad, Moscow, Tula, Kalinin, arose where town labour was available, and materials had to be brought to them. The Soviet planners have frequently taken the people to the materials,

and built towns for them where none existed.

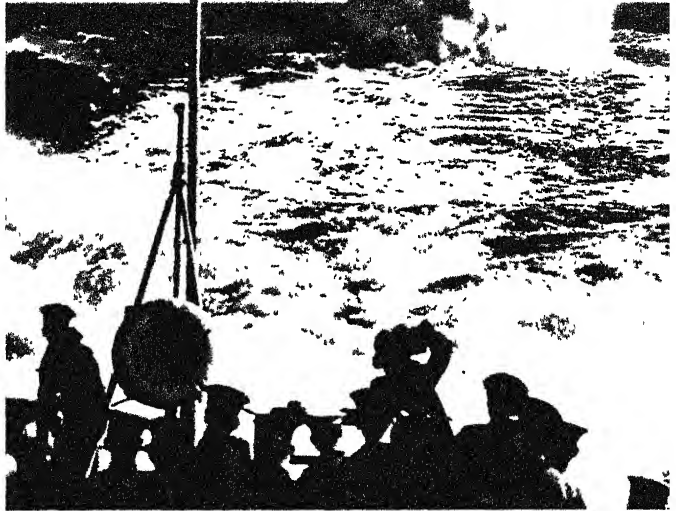
Russian industry was, in fact, developing fairly quickly in the decade preceding the First World War, but not sufficiently to enable it to stand up to the strain to come. To the centuries-old and family-run mining and smelting industries of the southern Urals and Tula, near Moscow, had been added steel and arms industries in the Leningrad area, as well as textiles, which were also developing at Kalinin and Ivanovo. Ukrainian sugar refineries were supplying part of the sugar of central and western Europe as well as of Russia. Some of the iron ore and coal of the Donetz Basin was also being used. In 1913 151 blast furnaces were working in the Russian Empire, and the yearly steel output of the Empire had reached 5,000,000 tons.

The whole of these industries, however, was disastrously small for a world Power of the size of Russia. Under the strain of the First World War, the number of blast

furnaces at work had fallen in 1916 to 115—an indication that the industry had none of the resilience of that of the Soviet Union or the British Commonwealth to-day.

Steel production, a cardinal figure, tells the story of the spurt of industry in the twenty-five years of the Soviet Union. By 1935 it had reached 12½ million tons yearly, by 1938 18,000,000, and by the time that the German invasion was under way some 25½ million tons.

Production of other metals and metal goods had leapt with much the same speed. Pre-Revolution industry had in fact merely scratched the surface of Russia's ores. Every presently usable element lies in large quantities under the soil of the Soviet Union, with the possible exception of tungsten; which is probably a matter of more detailed prospecting, since a great deal of prospecting remains to be done. In north-eastern Siberia a mountain range 250 miles long was discovered only ten years ago.



Britain's greatest naval battle has always been the long-drawn struggle to keep open the sea lanes. Dropping a depth-charge against a U-boat in the Atlantic.



Many special gifts of food and comforts have been made to the Red Army by the various nationalities of the Soviet Union. A deputation from Kirghizia brings presents to Leningrad.

What can be said is that so far the Soviet Union has made a start in using the vast deposits of coal, iron, aluminium, lead, copper, nickel, asbestos, manganese, mercury, petroleum—and, of course, the gold—within its borders.

In doing so, the Soviet Government has moved the industrial centre of gravity of the Union some 2000 miles eastward. The pivot of Soviet strength lies east of the Urals. Knowledge of this fact has led some to assume that this is largely a result of the evacuation of industry eastward before the German armies. Whereas the creation of a mighty industry in western Siberia has been in progress for the past twenty years, in accordance with the plans of the Soviet Government. In the construction of many works provision was made for their rapid expansion in case of need.

It is largely through the employment of additional labour from the West in these factories and plants that the output of the Urals and Western Siberia has been greatly increased since 1941—although actual evacuation of factories from the west into this region has also played a part.

The shifting of the centre of gravity of this land-power eastward does not however mean that the share of European Russia's industry in the total output of the Soviet Union is no longer large or important. For example, before the war more than



During the Second World War Britain's people have come to know more about other members of the Commonwealth. Subahdar Thapa, a Ghurka V.C., meets Shoreditch children.

60 per cent. of the 140,000,000 tons of coal mined yearly in the Union was still obtained from the Donetz Basin. So much importance was attached to getting these mines to work again after the expulsion of the Germans that the 'Stalin' Coal Combine, one of the largest Donbas groups of pits, was able to produce 1,000,000 tons in the first three months after liberation. Before the Revolution more than half of Russia's cast-iron was produced in the Donetz Basin, and the quantities since have mounted. Leningrad's arms and locomotive works, and textile mills; Moscow's car and ball-bearing works; Kalinin, with its pre-war yearly manufacture of 26,000 tons of cotton piece-goods; the oil refineries of Krasnodar, in the North Caucasus region, and Baku, on the Caspian Sea—all these were still of supreme importance and their output growing when Germany attacked, even though due to be overshadowed in time by the compact industrial wealth farther east.

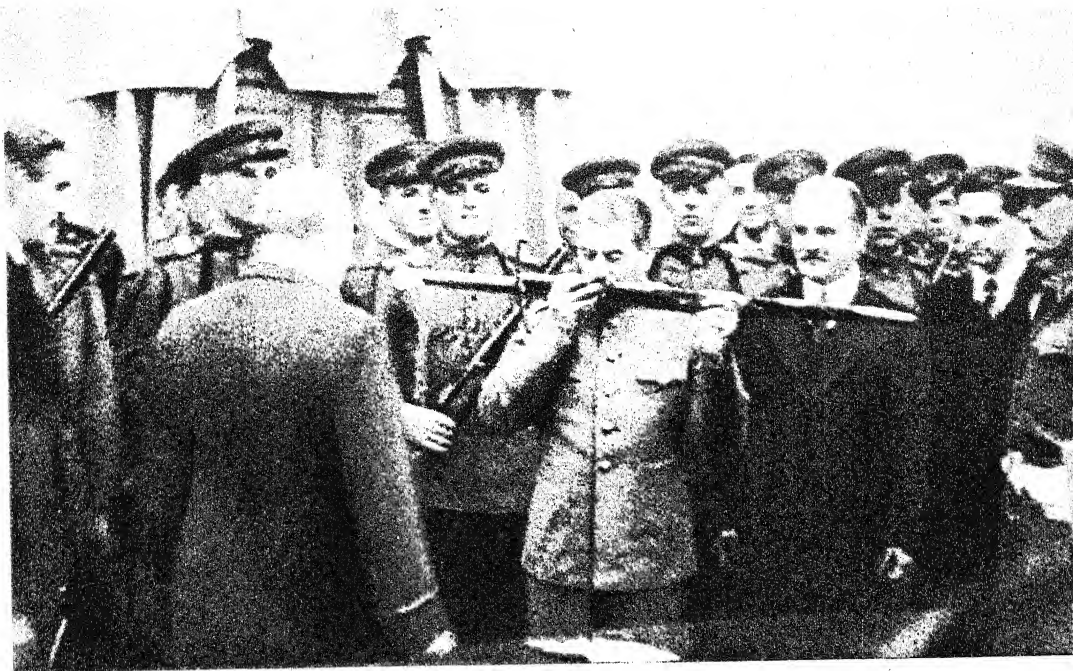
Before the war more than one-third of the total industry of the Soviet Union was congregated in the southern Urals and the belt of territory stretching east of them for 1750 miles to the Kuznetsk Basin (Kuzbas). One-third of the Union's coal, two-fifths of its iron and steel, two-fifths of its aluminium, practically all its copper and chrome, and half its nickel, were obtained in this area. West and south of the



M. Maisky, then Soviet Ambassador, hands the Order of Lenin to four R.A.F. pilots March 1942.

Urals, and therefore adjoining the industrial belt, lie the oil-fields of the "second Baku" region stretching west towards the Volga and south to the north shores of the Caspian. About one-quarter of the Union's oil flowed from these wells, but since the outbreak of the war production has been rapidly expanded.

In these industrial and oil-bearing regions the rapidly expanding population has been increased during the war by millions who have come from the west either as refugees or as transferred workers. The larger cities had reached the size of some of the industrial centres of Britain and the United States. Sverdlovsk had a population of 400,000, equal to that of Bristol, while other centres were Omsk (300,000), equal with Hull, Ufa (250,000), Perm (240,000), Magnitogorsk (220,000), equal with Coventry, Cheliabinsk (200,000), and Chkalovsk (150,000). Their town plans provide for further expansion, and it would be wiser for us to think of them as they will be in ten years' time than as they are now. Many of these towns will become great cities, and their plans envisage the construction of large municipal offices, theatres, parks. Kuibyshev (formerly Samara), the Volga port to which part of the Soviet administration was evacuated in autumn 1941, lies as it did centuries ago on the cross-roads of east-west and north-south traffic in and out of Asia. It is not surprising, therefore, that its town-plans provide for new industries, for great new wharves and river esplanades, and for a population in fifteen or twenty years of some two millions. It is important for us to remember that the industrial revolution of the Soviet Union



Marshal Stalin receives and kisses the Stalingrad sword at Teheran, December 1943.

has only recently begun, and that ours brought our population from eight to forty-five millions within a century.

I have not given many figures, either for the industry of European Russia, for the Urals, or for the rising production of Khabarovsk's oil refineries and Komsomolsk's coal and iron, which may later make the Soviet's Far East self-sufficient. One can have too many figures, telling too little. For example, some 70 per cent. of Soviet oil comes from the wells at Baku ; yet when Baku and Grozny near by were threatened by the Germans in the summer of 1942, the Russian Press estimated that even if Baku were lost it would still be possible with an effort to support the Soviet war machine with the flow from the Mid-Volga, Emba, and other regions of the "second Baku" field. Figures can easily mislead, and many of those previously known for the Soviet Union have become out of date during the war. Two new immense blast-furnaces have been built at Magnitogorsk, bringing that city's total to six. Seven times as much power is claimed to have been generated in the Urals in 1942 as in 1940. These are simply two instances of the added impetus which the war has given to Russia's eastern industries.

Some of the increased output has, of course, arisen through the movement of factories eastward, at the time of the German invasion. Both this process and the drafting of labour eastward for the expansion of existing factories have involved much human effort and discomfort. Nothing has been easily won.

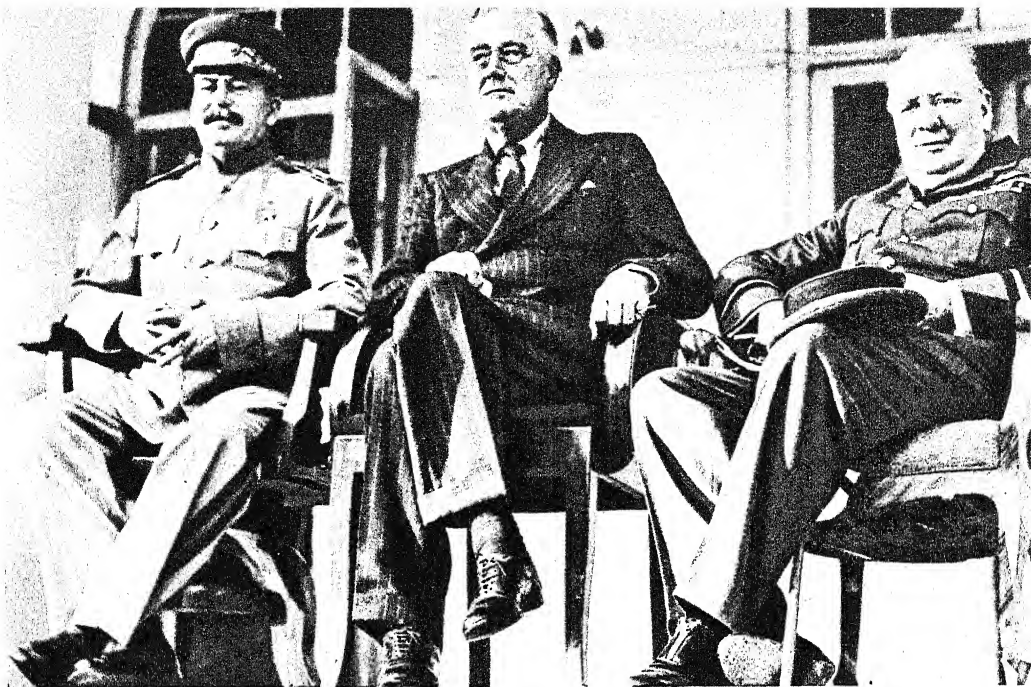


The Supreme Soviet sits in February 1944 to approve the Constitutional amendment permitting Constituent Republics to conduct their foreign affairs.

I remember halting in a train beside an 'evacuated factory.' At a spot where two lines converged two trains were standing in the sidings. They consisted of scores of platform trucks carrying jumbled heaps of factory equipment, lathes, etc., and wagons which were the temporary homes of the factory workers. Other trains had come along and tipped off on to the side of the track some thousands of bricks. The whole material for the moved factory was there on the spot.

Only two log houses had at that time been erected, and it was not certain whether they were the beginning of a settlement or intended as temporary administrative offices for the factory. Snow and ice lay on the ground, and the temperature was well below zero. From the absence of neighbouring houses, it was clear that the workers would have some distance to go for water and food. They were getting on with planning the layout of the new factory, with stacking bricks, with unloading lathes. This is a hard and not necessarily typical example. It seems to me symbolic, however, of the manner in which a vast amount of work has been done in difficult circumstances in the Soviet Union during its rapid transition into a modern industrial state.

In the ten years to the end of 1938, over-all commodity production rose in the Soviet Union by 20 per cent. and then amounted to about 11.4 per cent. of world production. Its cereals and sugar had varied from year to year with a general tendency to rise, and by 1938 were together 40 per cent. higher than in 1929. Its meat, on the other hand, had declined enormously after the farm collectivization in the early thirties, but had



At Teheran the leaders of the three Great Powers of to-day laid down the basic ideas upon which to build an "enduring peace."

recovered to over 60 per cent., and by 1941 was again normal. During these same ten years output of wood products doubled, and that of metals and other minerals roughly trebled itself. The electric power generated in 1938 was two-and-a-half times as high as in 1929. (See note at end of chapter.)

To finance this expanding economic life, Soviet Budgets were rising steadily in the pre-war years. Revenue amounted in 1939 to 166,000 million roubles, in 1940 it was 14,000 million higher, and in 1941 50,000 million higher. With the onset of war, the total amount spent in 1941 on the Defence commissariats was about 45 per cent. of the entire Budget. This figure has, of course, since risen, and in the 1944 Budget speech M. Zverev, Commissar of Finance, announced that out of a total revenue of 245,600 million roubles, rather more than half would go to the Army and Navy Commissariats. In addition, nearly 10 per cent. of the State revenue was to go into capital construction—adding to the huge sums devoted in previous years to the creation of new factories, mines, buildings, etc. It is impossible to say exactly how much of all this capital construction has been allocated to the different Republics over the course of the past twenty years. As I have said, much of it has gone towards developing the self-sufficiency of the various regions. In 1941, for example, the increase in the amount allotted for capital construction in the Russian S.F.S.R. was 50 per cent.—while in the Ukraine the increase was 76 per cent., in Georgia 101 per cent., in Azerbaijan 122 per cent., and in Kirghizia 132 per cent.

While this enormous economic effort was being made, the Soviet Government also found time to teach many more millions of its peoples how to read and write ; and supported in the various Republics the theatre, music, art, and literature in many tongues. That this effort was also accompanied by drastic overcrowding in the cities, by the shifting of large bodies of people, by abrupt changes in the centuries-old habits of the country-dwellers, especially in Central Asia—all these facts are already commonplace. Among themselves, the Russians have a thousand jokes about their overcrowding, about the lack of this or that luxury or the sudden production in large quantities of this or that article. But in my experience they feel that these jokes are for themselves, and that foreigners, who have not experienced their life, are better advised to appreciate and give credit for the outstanding successes which have been won in so short a time.

The progress of our own Commonwealth has been longer and more gradual. But it was only by exploration and inventiveness that the “sea animals” achieved their present position, and the Second World War has proved that we have not lost these qualities. The progress and achievements of our separate units have tended to pass by unnoticed. But many of them are spectacular and have a permanent meaning. Canada becomes the fourth largest air Power of the world, India makes herself independent in high-grade steels. The African colony of Uganda begins to mill its own cotton. These are facts chosen at random in our changing world.

Much of the Soviet Union’s wealth is still not properly explored. For example, in 1940-41 for the first time in history oil was found where previously it was thought impossible, in the ‘Cambrian’ layers of the earth’s surface, beside an East Asian river system flowing into Lake Baikal. The Soviet Academy of Sciences, like our Imperial Institute, learns more each year about the resources of its wide territories. These, then, are some of the chief lines and colours which go to make the large canvas of facts about the Soviet Union and ourselves. Many of them are already known to this or that student or diplomat and separately form the basis for enthusiasm or prejudices.

They have, however, to be assembled to make a picture.

A FOOTNOTE ON SOVIET PRODUCTION

Some League of Nations estimates in 1939 were that the Soviet Union led the world in the production of the following wheat, rye, barley, and oats, potatoes (38 per cent of world production), beet-sugar (22 per cent.), flax (70 per cent.), and hempseed (70 per cent) ; mutton, manganese (40 per cent.), graphite (39 per cent), natural phosphates (28 per cent.), and magnesite (39 per cent.). Other items, some of them more important, in which the Soviet Union did not lead but held a prominent position, were the following

Iron-ore. 14.3 per cent. of world production, 2nd after U.S.A.
Pig-iron. 18 per cent, 3rd after U.S.A. and Germany.
Steel. 16.9 per cent., 3rd after U.S.A. and Germany
Coal. 9.4 per cent, 4th after U.S.A., Britain, and Germany.
Aluminium. 8.4 per cent., 4th after Germany, U.S.A. and Canada.
Petroleum. 10.6 per cent., 2nd after U.S.A. (60 per cent.).
Sawn softwood. 15.8 per cent., 3rd after Finland and Canada.
Hemp. 24 per cent., 2nd after Philippine Islands.
Gold. U.S.S.R. estimated second after South Africa.

It was also estimated that in production of electric power the Soviet Union came third (after the U.S.A. and Germany).

“Getting on with the Russians”

An English business-man said to me recently, “Well, the war has given us a better idea who they are and what they are. But what about getting on with the Russians? Where do you start, I mean?” I think I answered “Well, first of all, I suppose, you have to take the other man seriously, and then perhaps have a drink on it.”

What I had not time to add is that “getting on” with the Russians depends, to some extent on knowing how they are organized and governed, and how they live—about which others are due to write in this series of books. But necessarily some clue to “getting on” with the Russians can be gained from the story of how in the past we have or have not managed to ‘hit it off’ with them. On the whole, although until recently communications did not favour many visits, we have been on friendly terms for some centuries. It was not until the sixteenth century that we really met, although the English had previously known vaguely of Russia—and, indeed, Edward the Confessor as a prince took refuge at the court of Kiev, then the centre of culture in Eastern Europe, from the Norsemen who dominated Northern Europe. The “sea animals” finally come to the surface on every coast, and so eventually we came in the sixteenth century to the Russian north coast while searching for the “North-east Passage” to China, or for whatever trade was to be had elsewhere.

Since that time the British and the Russians have usually been friendly. We were at a sufficient distance from each other to have no direct quarrels over land or over fishing-rights. Yet through the centuries we have both known sufficient to realize that each was a Great Power. The immense potentialities of Russia in material wealth and manpower have impressed our statesmen from the earliest contacts onward.

Our interests have coincided in periods of crisis, as regards Europe. And as ours was an imperial expansion by way of the sea, while that of the Russian Czars was overland to the east, there was no reason for any fundamental or long-term conflict. In their expansion to the east the Russians finally reached the west, in California, where they came upon the extreme limits of Anglo-Saxon and Spanish westward expansion. The Russians amicably shrugged their shoulders and returned via Alaska to Asia. At a late stage in Russian expansion, when the Czars were seeking warm-water ports and a control over the exit from the Black Sea, the “sea animals” saw danger in this and a possible threat to their communications. The seals began to bark at the land animals, and the Crimean War was fought. But this expensive and localized dispute did not at the same time disturb the agreement whereby the Hudson’s Bay Company’s fur-traders were allowed by the Russians to use the ports of Alaska, which at that date still belonged to the Russian Empire.

To-day, once more in a period of crisis, for Europe locally and for the world in general, we have been fighting a war together. In a world of motors, of motors in all three elements, land, sea, and air; in a world of which the Soviet Union and the British Commonwealth form two of the very small number of large producing Powers; in a world which has the inspiring opportunity of setting up a general system of peace—we have signed a Pact of Friendship for a minimum period of twenty years.

Our first relations of some importance occurred throughout the reign of Queen Elizabeth, although an English sea-captain, Richard Chancellor, had visited Russia via the North Cape a little earlier. This was the time of domination by Catholic

Spain of western Europe, and of constant Anglo-Spanish sea-fights for the mastery of the Atlantic. It was inevitable that British discovery should move north-eastward as well as westward. Trade with Moscow and beyond into Persia developed via the northern Dvina river and the Volga. This British link with Russia at a time when the "sea animals" were faced with expulsion from Europe, if not with invasion, by Catholic Spain, was repeated in a more active form when we were faced with the imperialism of Napoleon, and later the demagoguery of Hitler.

There is evidence that both countries continued to learn about each other in the seventeenth century, through correspondence and their Embassies, and through the agents of the Muscovy Company. A break in relations occurred in the middle of the century. The newly established Romanov dynasty, necessarily strong supporters of monarchy, refused to have anything to do with Oliver Cromwell's Commonwealth because the Parliamentary leaders had executed King Charles I. Britain, however, was chiefly concerned with her own internal affairs for the remainder of the century, and with her expansion by sea to the American colonies and the West Indies. Moscow was meanwhile only gradually acquiring 'New Russia' in the south, and pushing the Tartars back towards Asia.

Peter the Great (1686-1725) came to England as an already mature young man and studied as much as possible as rapidly as possible. Shipbuilding, canals, and roads interested him. When he went back to rule he set to work furiously building St Petersburg (Leningrad), his "window on to Europe," shaving his nobles, bringing in English experts in shipbuilding, such as Captain Perry, who constructed naval yards at Voronezh on a tributary of the Don. Peter raced across country in his little padded sleigh, preserved to-day in a Soviet museum, descending at awkward speed upon his gentry in their country houses, and in general acting like a good English eccentric or a Russian possessed of *razmakh*, the quality of greatness.

When it appeared that Charles XII of Sweden, ally of Britain's enemy, France, was about to attack Russia, Peter offered to the Duke of Marlborough, Mr Churchill's ancestor, a choice of the Principalities of Kiev or Siberia if he would only lead Peter's armies. The Duke considered the offer, but refused. Charles XII attacked, and Peter had to rely on 'scorched earth' tactics as he retreated across the wooded steppes. Charles was brought to a halt, and then his armies were caught in the "Great Frost" of 1708-9, the worst winter for a century, before he suffered defeat at Poltava.

The tradition of correspondence between English and Russian statesmen and learned men continued later under Catherine the Great. Some of her most splendid palaces were built by the Scottish architect Cameron. Other Scotsmen continued to obtain posts in the Army long after the Cadet Schools founded by Peter the Great (and recently renewed by the Soviet Government) had begun to produce good staff officers. A Scot named Gordon was building fortifications at Kiev on the style of the French military genius Vauban, even before Peter had come to the throne in Russia. He also put the first pontoon bridge in the Ukraine across the Dnieper. Catherine's Minister, Potemkin, built up Sevastopol, and another Scot prepared its defences. The large land Power was only just becoming unified, its social system was still feudal, and foreign experts had to be employed by the ruling group to provide the amenities of west European civilization. A number of skilful Italians, architects and engineers, were also employed—but the British established a tradition of being the major helpers.

This carried on through the nineteenth century, and was only partly affected by the rise of industrial Germany. Although we are not needed in the same manner now in Soviet times, it is true that the British seem always to have been popular as experts or traders, as doing an honest job whenever commissioned.

Russia's official links were, however, mainly Continental until Revolutionary France brought us together in alliance. "At that period," as Pitt told the House of Commons, "Russia had conceived as well as ourselves a just and natural alarm for the balance of Europe, and applied to us to learn our sentiments on the subject." In reply, Britain suggested that together we should first ask France to accept terms, failing which we should go to war with her. After Napoleon had arisen from Revolutionary France and conquered most of Europe, one of his major reasons for attacking Russia in 1812 was that he had heard that Alexander II was preparing to break the French 'economic blockade' of Britain by trading with us via the North.

The nineteenth century saw the stabilization of Russia and ourselves as world Powers. The Russian colonizing process in Siberia continued steadily, while Central Asia was added with the decline of the Persian Empire. But Anglo-Russian relations in this century have to be measured against the fact that Britain had become the mistress of liberties, the place of asylum for a long procession of civil refugees and Liberal and Socialist leaders, from Kosciusko to Garibaldi and on to Marx and Lenin. The Liberals of Europe looked to London as the home of peaceful Parliamentary development. The writings of the great Russian novelists became widely known in Britain. Business-men and experts established new industries in the Donetz Basin, in Lenin-grad and the Moscow region.

Russia's part in the liberation of the Balkan countries from the Turks in the later part of the century helped to maintain popularity for a country whose regime was otherwise regarded as reactionary. On the Russian side, in what was still mainly a society of rich and poor, there was considerable sympathy for the way of life of the well-to-do English. 'Anglo-mania' took the form of importation of British race-horses, the founding of clubs, interest in sport, yachting, and country-house parties. With the twentieth century, Anglican clergy visited Russia, as part of the 'rediscovery' of the Eastern Church which began in the later part of the last century and has continued through conferences with the Balkan Churches to this day; the Archbishop of York renewing the acquaintance with the Russian Orthodox Church in 1943 by his visit to the late Patriarch Sergei.

British investment in Russia by the time of the First World War amounted to £600,000,000, or twice as much as the investments of all other countries together. When the war of 1914 broke out the British people were enthusiastic over the strength of the "Russian steamroller." The actual value to the Allies of the Eastern front from 1914-17 was, however, understood by few. The cost of the Russian drive into East Prussia in 1914 and of Brussilov's offensive in Galicia in 1916 was not generally appreciated. Mr Churchill remembered, and wrote to give this "Unknown War" its due at a time when its value had been obscured by the separate peace concluded between the Germans and the Russians at Brest-Litovsk, by the Revolution, by the Allied intervention against the Bolshevik Government, by the shooting of the Russian royal family, etc.

After the First World War, the "sea animals" concerned themselves with the economic

results of lost markets, and with the growth of new relationships within the Commonwealth. The Soviet Union, so soon as the failure of "World Revolution" had become apparent in Hungary, China, and elsewhere, busied herself with building up a modern industrial state in the shortest possible time. Behind a Chinese Wall of isolation she became a bogey to the outside world of a nature which would have quite surprised the little peasant of the Don or the Volga, had he known; while to the Soviet Union Britain became the embodiment of "capitalistic hatred."

Thus the determination of the "sea animals" as a group to swim together after Dunkirk, their stubbornness for liberty during the Battle of Britain and the 'Blitz' were probably as much a surprise to many Russians as the victory of Moscow and the modern technique of the Red Army were to many people of the Commonwealth. In future, if the Twenty-year Pact is not to wither, we shall have to use all opportunities of "getting on with the Russians." Under the new Constitutional changes, the missions of the various Soviet Republics will come abroad. We shall have to meet Soviet people over matters of world air-routes, over at least the peaceful security of Europe and Asia. We need to discuss common problems such as the defeat of agricultural pests and diseases. A beginning has been made in this direction over the control of locusts and of malaria. Other questions over which we must meet, alone or with others, are: the relations of our currencies, the knowledge and control of Arctic weather, the exchange of our best art and music, and, as always, trade. I remember being held up for many hours in a train some distance from Penza, in central Russia, after a three-day blizzard had snowed-under the lines. The locomotive in maintaining the heating used up its coal, and before restarting it was necessary to load several tons of wood into the tender. With a few other correspondents I helped some Red Army men to form a chain to hand the logs from a pile up the bank and on to the tender. The Russians were at first amused; then touchingly pleased. This little incident, which I had almost forgotten, now seems to me symbolical of some parts of our history and of the problem of "getting on with the Russians." Success in this matter involves also knowing more about Soviet institutions, and individual human lives. But, so far as this book is concerned, "getting on" with the Soviet Union means, I suggest, realizing at least the following:

Russia's needs in giving comfort to her peoples after centuries of struggle with Nature. The liking of her people for practical answers, conditioned as they are by the practice of a stern climate.

The situation of the "land animals" on the world's air-routes.

Peter the Great means to this young nation as much as Queen Elizabeth to us, and Lenin more than to us Cromwell.

The tercentenary of the English scientist Sir Isaac Newton was celebrated with more pomp and publicity in Moscow than in London.

Our Commonwealth, with all its skilful people and its inherent kindness, is only young, not more than 150 years or so; and the Soviet Union is still younger.

As "sea animals" we have in fact found the "land animals" in the past people with whom it was possible to do business. This is surely a sound basis for the future.

